/28 cont./

262 cooked down until thick, kumachí, and the extremely "hot"
ají in various forms; products of fishing, fowling, and hunting,
depending on the wealth of the region and the skill and weapons
of the men, who preferentially dedicate their days to this.

535 59. On a par with the intemperance of the Indians in drink-
ing, and a consequence of it, is their fondness for dances.
For all peoples the proverb was made: "From the belly comes
the dance"; but among the Indians, dance and kachirí form a
[534] perfect equation; in practice the words dancers and drunks can
be considered synonymous. The drum, made of monkeyskin,
the rué pipe, the harsh yagrumo tube, and the happy rattles of
the kevei begin and end their sounds precisely at the beginning
and end of the pouring of parakarí, paiuá, or any of the other
527 kinds of kachirí. When Indians are interrogated about the
535 object of their fiesta trips, with equal candor and without the
273 slightest embarrassment they will answer that they are going to
dance or that they are going to get drunk. And when they do
their planting they often told me that they were planting things
to get drunk with, rather than thinking of their bread.

797 60. Unfortunately for the Indians, the dance, accompanied
535 by the use of alcohol or alcoholic beverages, had in the area
around Roroima, in the three nations grouped about this hydro-
273 graphic node (Venezuela, Brazil and British Guiana), Protestant
171 propagandists, called Hallelujahns. The imaginative lucidity
and that indefinable sensation of liberation from the material,
which momentarily seem communicated by rhythmic dancing
and alcohol and other drugs and infusions, were presented to
the Indians by the said propagandists as a celestial illustration,
liberation of the spirit and communication with the supersensible world.

This was raining on sop, since the Indians were already on their own too inclined toward drink, and that theory of the liberation of the spirit was also that of their piaches: so that the fondness for liquor was stuck into them like a clinched nail.

/43 cont./

787 conversation with them, discovers the cause of the illness,
755 takes away from them the spirit (energy, vigor, or health)
which they had taken from the Indian, and returns it to the
sick person, who should begin to improve.

756 There is no doubt that the piache is a subject of autosuggestion, an hallucinated person who believes in his own lies.
787 In order to understand this better we must bear in mind that
the ingestion of the said tisanes and others such as peyoth,
meczal, yagé, miguarano, etc., produce not only inebriation,
but also hallucinations and imaginative illuminations, even
in distinct colors, by which some name these illusiogenic
substances. And as the soul is for Indians with respect to the
body, blood and vigor, and in with respect to the spiritual the
interior eye or imaginative faculty, which is the most vigorous
and vivid, the result is that he has the imaginative lucidity
● [171] for spiritual illustration. These customs and beliefs have already been observed with regard to the Mexican Indians by
López de Gómara, Pedro Mártir, and Lafitau, and other
colonial writers.

755 95. It is necessary to have attended piachería seances --
787 I call them this because of their similarity to the seances of
spiritualists-- in order to understand the bewitchment or hyponotization that can be produced in sick persons and even those who are not sick. Three or four times I managed to attend and I retain the memory of this grandiose and impressive aesthetic and psychological phenomenon; I still seem to hear the resonance of the various songs of the piache in the deep silence of the night and inside the round huts; I can still hear the cadence of the sheaves, which now would be rustling like a forest in a hurricane or now would sound like a grove of trees stirred by a gentle breeze; I can still hear the imitation of birds or animals, the remarkable imitation of noises that go off or come close, of spirits who went up or down, beating on the ground with force, of a multiplicity of persons who were conversing, and a thousand other things, some of which made one drowsy and others which made one's hair stand up.

Caraca SS8

P 582 [563] /63 cont./
people in these cases usually exaggerate to the point of saying that "just as a dog joins with a bitch and a horse with a mare, thus an Indian man should marry an Indian woman, and a Creole a Creole." And they customarily also say that if Creoles want to marry their daughters, they must bring their sisters to marry Indian men.

P C 584 585 171 136. Now, so that the similarity of these Indians to the ancient Indians of Caracas can be seen, I am going to transcribe a paragraph of Pimentel's geographic account, which deals with the subject of marriages.

In regard to marriages and the absence of formalities and festivities, as well as the spontaneity and absolute liberty of those who contract it, the present-day situation also coincides with the ancient one of the Caracas Indians, of whom J. Pimentel writes: "In marriages they have this system: when an Indian finds an Indian woman who pleases him, he gives her to understand this with words, and if it seems to him that she responds favorably, he goes to her house, and if she gives him something to sit on and brings him a gourd bowl of water so that he can wash and puts out something for him to eat, he then understands the will of the girl and they go and sleep together without it seeming bad to her parents and relatives, and thus they are married, and in this marriage only their will keeps it going for a greater or lesser period of time." /64/

Chapter XVI

780

What Should Be Understood By Kanaima?

137. The firm belief in Kanaima. 138. General statements. 139. Magic properties. 140. Are they happy with these ideas? 141. What is the missionaries' idea of the Kanaima?

/68 cont./

156 are free persons, has his own moral conduct. And even though among the Indians there does not exist the great discrimination and complexity as among us, neither can we fall into the utopia of believing them identical to the point of repeating the saying that "the [illegible]ces and their characters are like grains of rice."

577 Having made this reservation, we shall say that shame and modesty are words which form a part of the linguistic fund of these Indians and, consequently, the ideas of their moral fund. We speak of modesty in physiological actions and in the modest parts of the body; and of shame for immoral actions in the broadest sense of this word.

147. To say that clothing engenders modesty and not vice versa and to suppose that customs (mores) create the concept of morality and not the reverse is to invert the concepts provided by history and by intimate personal experience.

It is true that clothes produce a certain kind of accidental modesty; and thus, *verbi gracia*, those of us who use long robes or long trousers would be embarrassed to walk around with trousers up to the knee or a tunic that only comes halfway down the leg. But there is a minimum of /69/ clothing required by the minimum of natural modesty, whether they be the mythical fig leaves, the classic grape leaves, or the native loincloths made of glass beads, palm leaves, the neck of a gourd, or a /piece of/ tree bark /*concha de arboles*/. 291 171 Thus it is that not even among the Pemón nor even among other even poorer and more isolated tribes, such as the Sapé, Arutaní, Sirianá, and Motilón, have we ever found an Indian *in puris naturalibus*, or a naked Indian. By means of trade with neighboring tribes or by their own industry they all manage not to be without at least a humble *guayuco*, loincloths, a covering of foliage, or whatever it might be called.

/72 cont./

431 it with gifts, serenely ask: What other thing can and must we
577 poor people do but beg? What should dry earth do but sit up
[123] and open its mouth in demand for water?

Nor will anyone deny that splendid and generous people
571 are rare; and in the face of this undeniable fact of miserliness, there is no other remedy than to be Beggarly. "A stubborn poor person extracts a crumb of bread." For this reason also the natives often endure punishment and maltreatment, which they did not go looking for (where they beat them they remain) and they go away when they have received their pay, because this is precisely what they came looking for and what they have been working for. And we would be presumptuous in the extreme if, because we pay the Indians, we should want to keep them indefinitely at our side and in our service.

600 156. Wisely did Father Eulogio warn that "the uncivilized Indian does not show gratitude in any way," and this is due to ignorance of our ways of life, our industries, and our business ways.

829 Another missionary, Father Baltasar de Matallana, also
171 says that such Indians "believe that shotguns loaded with shot and powder rained down from heaven on us." Another humorist, an explorer of mines in all the Guianas, assured me that the natives imagined that we were born with money in our pockets, just as they were born with lice in their hair and fleas on their feet.

829 And that is why it turned out to be unproductive, when we
123 brought Indians to Caracas, to take them to the shops and warehouses, since they couldn't understand why, out of so many pieces of cloth, so many ready-made clothes exposed to their avid glances, so many dozens of suitcases, axes, and other tools, not a single meter was ever cut off for them, that nobody ever gave them a garment, nor let them take away what, apparently, was more than enough for the others.

538 157. The old Indians also have the legendary belief that
829 their ancient predecessors, the Makunaimá, extremely able,

/89 cont./
127 the basins of the Caroní and the Paragua, did not turn up any
162 native settlement of more than 100 individuals, with 99 per cent
being of only two or three houses with less than 30 individuals.

900 194. We believe that this state was really that of the majority of the native tribes upon the arrival of the Spanish discoverers and colonizers. And so Columbus says when speaking of Cuba that "we found innumerable peoples and small villages /poblaciones/, but without any government at all." With an author of the history of Cuba, Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, we believe that here as well as there: "No authentic proof can serve us as a basis to support the fact that (Cuba) was divided into extensive provinces, ruled by chiefs or little kings. The maps that have been drawn showing such provinces or districts under caciques are the product of the fantasy of their authors alone."

And the fact is that, aside from the danger of war or when avoiding other evils, in extensive territories with sparse population and easy means of livelihood within the bounds of frugality, grouping in order to provide themselves with greater well-being and more ease takes place slowly by an almost imperceptible process of integration. This is the same phenomenon which we are groping for in the field of international affairs: groupings in war and separation in time of peace, without as yet arriving, after so many centuries of history, at the international society which must come.

771 195. For those who are up-to-date on the matters which
are usually dealt with in ethnology when discoursing upon the
organization of primitive peoples, I should add that among the
Pemón Indians there is not the remotest trace of totemism;
582 they practice equally both endogamy and exogamy; and neither
611 does there exist any trace of matriarchy, despite the fact that
[171] the Caribe Indians in general have been classified as belonging
to that cultural cycle and as solely exogamous. The couvade,
846 which it has been wished to interpret as proof of matriarchy,
611 through the little which we have said about it when talking
about magic, will be seen to be /90/ lacking in probatory value
since it affects equally both progenitors.

/91 cont./

lack of those who chant "extra chorum": and as a small sample read what I now transcribe: "One of the characteristic qualities of man is, as has been said, religiousness....But what is certain is that many individuals, even among the most civilized, do not have this belief nor this impulse, and are content to live without any care for what they do not understand, lacking fear, admiration, and gratitude, which are the three motives for every religious concept....In this man is inferior to the dog, whose abnegation and fidelity to the person who gives him his daily bread knows no limits and whom he considers as a God more than as a master. This animal certainly believes in some thing superior to himself." (Topinard)

Thanks for that about being inferior to dogs, and let us continue, since it can quite clearly be seen that, when he tells us that "some individuals" do not have religion, it is implicitly conceded that "many" do have it.

199. Upon attempting to study noncodified religions not compiled into a body of doctrine; that is, without Creed or Confession of dogma, without Tables or Decalogue of morality, and without a regulator of the form of worship; upon studying religions whose elements are found diluted in practical life, one must have a very watchful eye, a great genius for observation, and a long period of living among /92/ the natives. For lack of this last element Dr. G. Gaylor Simpson fell into such a grave error as to deny all religion to the Pemón Indians.

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171

He asked them (or rather, he asked one or two of the semi-civilized ones, with whom he was able to communicate) what they thought about God, the soul, the other life, etc. They answered (to the consumer's taste) that some Indians talked of those things, but that the rest did not concern themselves with such. Conclusion, even flimsier than the premises: the Indians do not have any religion nor do they concern themselves about this and those who have received instruction from the missionaries live in a pained and sad state and are even neurotic.

[797]

101
131 territory that is now Venezuelan Guayana was occupied by Indians of Carib stock, not greatly unlike those of the coastal region of Caracas or Cumaná.

177 In northern Venezuela, although Indian blood still visibly survives in many places, Indian culture and tribal organization are now almost completely absorbed into the modern Venezuelan culture, mainly of European origin. Some European influence has penetrated everywhere, even to the most remote tribes who have not yet seen white men, but in general the great mass of Carib tribes south of the Orinoco have resisted this advance, aided by the difficulty of access to their region. Many of them still retain their tribal organization and an almost purely aboriginal culture. Here pre-Columbian American civilization can still be studied, and particularly that of the Caribs, in most respects the most important aboriginal stock in Venezuela.

121 The importance of studying these Indians is very great and its urgency not less so. From the historical point of view, such studies show the indigenous basis of Venezuelan history and culture. From a social point of view an understanding of them may permit an easing of the inevitable process of Europeanization and a lessening of the unintentional brutality that usually accompanies it. Such a study may also prove that the survival of these Indian cultures is a definite economic resource. In any case, these Indians belong to Venezuela, even though they are barely aware of this fact, and knowledge of them by the other, the more civilized Venezuelans, is an obligation and can be a great pleasure. These studies are urgent, because the renascent Venezuela of recent years is advancing impetuously into the most remote fastnesses, and much that is most picturesque and most important in their Indian cultures is disappearing from year to year.

101
131 Most of the Indians of southeastern Venezuela, especially between the Caroní on the west and the borders of British Guiana and of Brazil on east and south, belong to a particular branch of Caribs that can best be called Arekuna. The Arekuna division of Caribs, which forms an important surviving nucleus of such Indians, is itself divisible into several quite closely allied by consciously separate tribes, including the Taurepanes near Roroima and the Kamarakotos around the equally great mountain Auyan-tapui. The latter Indians form the subject of this monograph.

101
●171 From a broader point of view all the aboriginal cultures of Venezuela east and south of the Andes, with all those of British, Dutch and French Guiana and those of extreme northern Brazil, have many traits in common and can be considered as belonging to one culture area or subarea of South America. This is well called the Northeastern or the Guayana (or Guiana) Area, the latter because it centers around Venezuelan Guayana and is typically developed also in the other Guianas. This area in turn has some more general traits in common with others in South America east of the Andes in the north and of the Chaco and Uruguay in the south. This, the so-called Amazon Area, is thus a major

101 cultural division of South America with the Guayana Area as its northern
171 part.

None of these cultural areas has any important characteristic that extends all over it with no variation at all, but each can be defined in a general way by certain common cultural elements. Thus the major division, the Amazon Area, includes Indians that live mainly on casave and "pepper-pot," that use tobacco, that use blow-guns and poisoned darts, that poison streams to obtain fish, that build semi-permanent houses and sleep in hammocks, that originally wore no clothing or only simple pubic-coverings, that anciently practiced the couvade, that have a purely shamanistic, animistic, and not priestly or theistic religious system, that make pottery, that travel by canoe, that use maraka-rattles, that bury the dead in foetal position, — and so on. The Kamarakotos have all these characters, in some of their numerous variations, as will be shown, but so do tribes as far away as southern Brazil, so that such characters belong to the whole Amazon Area.

In the Guayana Area, in addition to these characters or as typical local forms of them, most or all of the Indians raise and spin cotton and make complicated cotton fabrics, squeeze casave in a basketwork press of characteristic range of design, make numerous other fine and typical examples of basketry, smoke tobacco in the form of cigars and do not use coca, live in individual family groups and not in larger community houses and groups, are polygamous, use grave rather than urn burial, etc. It will be shown that the Kamarakotos are also typical Guayana Indians in all these respects.

Within the Guayana Area, the local culture groups are characterized less by these broad traits than by particular variations of them. Thus virtually all make baskets, but certain types of baskets characterize a group of tribes in a nuclear position in southeastern Venezuela and western British Guiana, and within these tribes certain types are Arekuna, as opposed to Makuchi, etc., and within the Arekunas certain ones are Kamarakoto as opposed to Taurepán. These manifold details will mostly be mentioned in the course of the following pages. It is also characteristic that the broader culture areas, like the Amazon Area and its subdivision, the Guayana Area, are in general definable regardless of racial and linguistic affinities. Within any one subarea, local cultures generally follow rather clearly racial and linguistic lines. Thus, Venezuelan Caribs usually have some distinctions, not only physical and linguistic but also cultural, from Venezuelan Arawaks, even when the two are rather closely associated, although of course it is not impossible for a Carib tribe to be "Arawakized" or an Arawak tribe "Caribized." The Kamarakotos are as typically Carib in culture as in language.

101 One other factor in this local subdivision needs special mention in orient-
137 ing the Kamarakotos among the Indians of their region and of South America:
182 that of environment. The most important environmental character in this

194 It is, however, typical of the phoneme that the sides of the middle and back of the tongue are generally less tense than in the Spanish r, with the result that there may be some lateral opening and the sound then becomes a flapped (non-continuant) l. This is especially likely to occur when the following sound is posterior.[29] For instance the initial consonant of the geographic name Luepa belongs to the r - phoneme (and some missionaries, for instance, do write it Ruepa, which is technically correct broad transcription), but the Kamarakotos, at least, always pronounce it with some lateral opening so that the acoustic effect is nearer l than r. Indeed it is almost impossible for a Kamarakoto to pronounce r without lateral opening before a very short u or w. This can be done before a longer u, e.g. in Karume, but even here there frequently appears an audible down-glide after the r.

Before a distinct, non-gliding e the sound is generally a fairly pure r, e.g. aka:re.

It is, however, difficult to sum up these position variants in any simple rule and there are other cases for which I detect no rule. For this reason and because the acoustic effect of the two may be so different, at least to the non-Indian ear, I have departed from broad transcription to the extent of writing l when the lateral opening was essentially constant and made a strong acoustic effect, using r when the lateral opening was absent, highly variable, or so slight as to produce little acoustic effect.

w: — This is the bilabial, non-fricative semivowel, essentially as in English, and unlike the usual Spanish pronunciation of the foreign letter w, which is usually fricative, as in German. The sound does occur in Spanish, e.g. it is almost the same as the initial semivowel in "hueso." In Kamarakoto similar but fricative sounds appear invariably to belong to the phoneme b, not w. The sound differs from u principally in length, being shorter than the shortest independent vocalic u, but also in tensity, generally being more relaxed. Especially after consonants, it could be considered a supershort u, but transcription is considerably simplified if it is always represented as w. The phoneme is clearly different from that of vocalic u.[30]

y. — The phoneme here represented by y is one of the most variable in Kamarakoto, grading into a supershort i - glide at one extreme and into an affricative not far from English j as in "judge" at the other. The principal member of the phoneme is pronounced in about the position of English y in "yield" or Spanish y in "yegua," but the position of the tongue is closer and the exhalation of the breath stronger so that the sound has a slight fricative quality, verging on the French j of "je" or English z of "asure." This sound does not occur in standard Spanish, but is a frequent colloquial pronunciation
● [171] of y and ll. In colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, ll has almost exactly the sound of a typical Kamarakoto y.[31]

29, 30, 31 [see footnotes on pp. 308-09, category 116 - Analyst]

601 80. parətsi
81. pipi
Aunt. uncle (also some relatives by marriage):
82. *awo (see below. under wari)
83. *wari (see below)
84. mui
85. wani

*197 601 ● 171 114 Etymological notes on relationship words. Comparisons of Kamarakoto relationship words with the similar Makuchi words are given in discussing relationship concepts in general on a later page. Comparison in detail with Taurepan concepts is impossible because the only reliable source. Koch-Grũnberg, is in this respect inadequate since he almost never fully defines the Taurepan words. Generally his roots are recognizably the same as those I have recorded for Kamarakoto. e.g.: Kamarakoto (u)mo. Taurepan (K.-G.) (u)mu; K. tamo. T. (K.-G.) -ta:mo; K. awo. T. (K.-G.) a:uo; K. poitoru. T. (K.-G.) poitolũ; etc. Koch-Grũnberg gives a few roots in Taurepan that I have not recorded in Kamarakoto: naʼnai. "older sister." moyi. "younger brother." ukeipone. "father-in-law." wa:ʼnemule. "sister-in-law." These may possibly occur in Kamarakoto. but at most they are not the usual words to express these ideas in that language. The following are a few of the more striking verbal differences between the two dialects in this field:

Taurepan (Koch-Grũnberg) ayikeʼ. "older brother." and a:ʼyekeʼ. "male cousin." These appear to be forms of the same word. In Kamarakoto an older brother is rũiko or pi (uyadetə). depending on the sex of the person of reference. and a male cousin is simply called "brother" if a relationship word is used at all. rui. etc.. incorporated in the Kamarakoto rũiko. is a common Carib root. I do not place ayikeʼ.

Kamarakoto paikõi "mother" (in direct address). Taurepan (Koch-Grũnberg) a:mai. Forms like amai. mamai mama. etc.. are widespread in Carib languages. paikõi. with slight vocalic variations. seems to be confined to Kamarakoto and a few adjacent groups of dubious tribal classification.

Kamarakoto (u)rmɛ. "son of a female." Taurepan (Koch-Grũnberg) (u)lumɛ: Makuchi (Williams) (u)-n-re. Cumanagoto (Adam) (y)-ena-r. The evident equivalence of the roots -rm- and -nr- is an interesting case of metathesis (combined with the permutation m=n). It is not apparent which is the older form; -nr- appears to be more common but -rm- appears in dialects that are generally rather archaic. This word means primarily "son." of (or with respect to) his mother. and secondarily it means "child." son or daughter. of a mother. that is. it is the word used by or to a woman in referring to her children. It is thus quite distinct from the (at least) equally widespread root mure (murɛ. mulɛ. malɛ. etc.) which means primarily "child" (son or daughter) of

*197 a father and is usually used by males or in speaking of the child-father rela-
101 tionship but in Kamarakoto means "offspring" in general. It is not impossible
● 171 that the two roots are connected in origin (in which case -nr- is probably older
than -rm-), but they became differentiated at a very ancient period as they
are distinct in almost all dialects. mure is also and more obviously related to
mu, mumu, etc., a root that means "son" with respect to his father.[46]

Kamarakoto manon, "daughter of a female." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) ma:ʾ non, "female cousin." Makuchi (Williams) (e)-ma-non, "young, unmarried female." Here there is no question of identity or identification of the root, but the varying significance attached to it in these three dialects is interesting. Williams suggests comparison with Makuchi e-mai-non, "the first one.". Despite the strong phonetic resemblance, it is hard to see a probable connection in meaning.

Kamarakoto wari. This means primarily "woman, female," but my informants also gave it as a relationship word meaning "woman's paternal aunt" or "woman's mother-in-law." Now Williams gives -awobu for "woman's paternal aunt" in Makuchi and Koch-Grünberg gives the cognate (y)auopə for "mother-in-law"[47] in Taurepan. This clearly is the special word for this particular relationship concept; lost in Kamarakoto (or at least not known to my informants — of course others in the tribe may know it as an uncommon word) and replaced by the noncommittal wari. Note, however, that the basic root-element of awobu does occur in Kamarakoto as awo, "woman's maternal uncle" or "woman's father-in-law" and in Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) as a:uo defined simply as "uncle," but doubtless here also "woman's maternal uncle." The root is widespread in Carib, see de Goeje No. 26.

Kamarakoto tamupüi (also tamöipu- in compounds), "husband." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) -ti:yemu(n). Makuchi (Williams) ni-yo, -nyo. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)tamupə. Purukoto (Koch-Grünberg) (u)nyo. For discussion see next word.

Kamarakoto nopüi (also nopu- in compounds), "wife." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) nopə. Makuchi (Williams) no-bu. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) nopə. Purukoto (Adam) (u)-peti. Galibi (Adam) puiti. Bakairi (Adam) (i)-witi.

In addition to a few rare and peculiar forms, there are in Carib dialects two general roots for "husband," -nyo and tamu + suffix -pu (and variants), of which the former is more widespread, and two for "wife," piti (and wide variants) and no + suffix -pu (etc.), of which the latter is more widespread. Even in languages in which -nyo and piti are used for "husband" and "wife," the roots tamu and no (without suffix -pu) generally occur and their usual meanings are "grandfather, old man" and "grandmother, old woman." For instance in Kamarakoto, itself, tamo (= tamu) and noiʾ (- no) have these meanings. Thus -nyo and piti (etc.) may be considered as primary roots for "husband" and "wife" and tamu + pu and no + pu as secondary or compound words with the

46, 47 [see footnotes on p.311, category 116 – Analyst]

*197 same meanings. Some languages use both primary roots, e.g. Caribi, many
601 use the primary root for "husband," but the secondary for wife, e.g. Makuchi,
● 171 and a few Kamarakoto among them, use the secondary words for both. The
Taurepan -ti:yemu(n) is decidedly aberrant. Like most others, this language
does use the root tamu, in the form (u)-ta:mo, for "grandfather."

Ethnographic Words.

*192 a. Instruments for hunting and fishing.

*197 86. *Bow — ura:pa. Taurepan, ura:pa. Makuchi (Williams), u-ra-pa.
411 87. *Arrow — purau. Taurepan, pulõu. Makuchi (Williams) pə-reu.
Kinds of Arrows (for exact definitions see later pages):
88. *supalari. Taurepan, səpalari.
89. *pana:chika. Taurepan, pana:shika (sh as in English "ship").
90. waíbakasi.
91. *tarau (literally "simple"). Taurepan, tara.u.
92. Bowstring — urapa-yeba.
93. Weapon (bow, shotgun, etc.) — rapai.
94. *Blow-gun (cerbatana) — kuraiʼ. Taurepan kuraʼ, Makuchi (Williams) ku-ra.
95. *Blow-gun-dart — kunwa. Taurepan, kunwa. Makuchi (Williams), kum-wa, kun-wa.
96. Detachable point of dart — iporosaʼ.
97. Twist of tree-cotton on dart — atsari-kuma:saʼ.
98. Quiver for darts — mõi-yɛ.
99. Container for tree-cotton — tsimuiʼ.
100. Dart poison (curare) — kumawara.
101. *Shotgun — alakaputsa. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) arakebusa.
[177] Makuchi (Williams) a-ra-ka-bu-sa. This is the obsolete Spanish word "arcabuz" = "arquebus," which was passed along with the weapon from tribe to tribe and is now the word for gun in almost all tribes of this region, regardless of affinities. (See Nordenskiöld, 1922).
*192 102. Fish-hook — kunoiʼ.
*197 103. Fishing line (or any string) — yeba, also kunoiʼ yeba.
227 104. Fish-trap — muroiʼ.
105. Fish-poison (barbasco) — inɛʼ.[48]
Fish-net (two kinds, described on later page):
106. *iruʼ. Taurepan, kariʼ, but Koch-Grünberg gives hilu. Williams does not note the word in Makuchi but Koch-Grünberg quotes cami (kami) from a Brazilian colonist.

[48] [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 – Analyst]

*192
386
824
● 171
[249]

This dye is made from the pulp around the seeds in the fleshy fruits of *Genipa americana*, planted near houses for that purpose. The Arawak name is *karuto* (and variants), whence comes the Venezuelan Spanish "*caruto*." The resemblance of the Kamarakoto word and its difference from those in other Carib dialects suggest that it may have been borrowed from some Arawak tribe, perhaps from the Guinaus, with whom the Kamarakotos have probably had some contact and who call this plant *galu:tu* (Koch-Grünberg; = *karu:tu* in Kamarakoto phonetics).

*192
*197
386

181. *rana*. Taurepán *rana*. Makuchi (Williams) *rana*. A less-used wild variety of *Genipa americana*.

Red —

182. *anonda*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *anonte*, *anunte*. Makuchi (Williams) *ru-ku*, *a-nun-te*. Galibi (Adam) *anoto*. Cariniaco (Adam) *anoto*. This is the famous and widely used dye made from the seeds of the shrub *Bixa orellana*. It is cultivated for this purpose all over Venezuela and called "onoto," from the Carib word. In England it is called "arnatto" — also an attempt at the Carib word. It is curious that in British Guiana *ruku*, which generally means the very different *Genipa* dye, is applied to this dye. [824]

183. *karaberõ*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kurauili* (perhaps *kurawiri*). Makuchi (Appun)[52] *karaweru*. This is a purplish-red dye made from leaves of the liana *Bignonia chica*. [824]

[439] 184. *kurawõri*. This dye is not made by the Kamarakotos but is obtained from the Maiongones (Maquiritares) by trading and I did not learn how they make it. The Kamarakotos distinguish this word from their *karaberõ*, but it seems probable that it is merely a dialect (presumably Maquiritare) form of the same Carib word.

[302] 185. White — *tauwa*. Makuchi (Williams) *ta-wa*. This is a fine, white clay used as body paint.

*192 f. Thread, fiber, etc.
283
186. String, line (as for fishing) — *yeba*. See No. 103.
187. Cotton thread, spun cotton in general (including store- or trade-thread) *asei. a*.
*[192] 188. Fine native cotton thread — *asei. a-inimuʔ*. Makuchi (Williams) *e-ni-mo*, "ball of finely spun cotton."

[52] [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analyst]

*192 *197 501

before w and by the presence of slight breathing between these sounds.

224. *Dug-out (canoe) — kuriyara. This word is likewise common to most Carib dialects and has been adopted in South American Spanish "curiara") and English ("corial" — a word that has nothing to do with "coracle"). In Carib generally kanawa (etc.) means any kind of boat and kuriyara (etc.) means a particular kind, a dug-out with pointed ends. The Kamarakotos use no boats except the kuriyara and usually use this word but are acquainted also with the word kan.wa which, to them, is virtually a synonym of kuriyara.

[482] 225. Paddle — kan.wa-paːre.

226. Man's carrying frame — wayare.

*192 *197 534 j. Musical instruments and dances.

227. *Bugle (straight bamboo tube blown like a trumpet) — kamai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kamaːyen.

228. Flageolet (end-flute) — lue, lwe, rue. (The word also designates the reed from which these fifes are made.)

229. *A small variety of lue — kaikara. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikala, "side-flute."

230. Flute (side-flute) — nau-nau.

[172] [231] 231. *Horn (cow's horn blown on side, not end) — kacho. This is the local Spanish "cacho." Cows are quite unknown among the Kamarakotos and this instrument is a recently imported novelty.

232. *Gourd or calabash rattle — maraka. This word, with little variation, is general in Carib dialects and also occurs in Arawak and, like the instrument, it has been adopted in American Spanish and is passing into American English.

● [171] 233. *Drum — sambura. Taurepán, sambura. Makuchi (Williams) sanbu-ra sambura. In various forms the word is general in Carib and cognate words occur in many non-Carib languages, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) in Guinau sambola, in Shiriana samboːra, and in Maku sambula. Williams suggests that this word might be native, but it is otherwise universally believed to come from the Romance, Spanish, Portuguese, French, "tambor," "tambur," "tambour," ultimately from the Arabic. The evidence does point this way, but with Williams I feel some reservations on the subject.

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825

(Williams) *pa-ra-wi.* These two quite distinct roots are capriciously distributed among these allied languages. That seen in Kamarakoto, although widespread among Carib tribes, is probably derived from (or through) the Tupi *kapivara*, from which come our English name and one of the several Spanish names for the animal.

284. Paca, local Spanish "lapa," *Coelogenys paca*, — *urana.* Taurepán, *ura:na.* Makuchi (Williams) *u-ra-na.*

[171] 285. Agouti, local Spanish "acure," *Dasyprocta* spp., — *akuri.* Taurepán, *akuri.* Makuchi (Williams) *a-ku-ri.* This word is practically international among South American Indians and occurs in various forms in Arawak, Tupi, and other groups as well as in most Carib dialects. The local Spanish name probably came through the Carib and the English name through some Brazilian language, perhaps Tupi (*akuti*).

[114] 286. Guinea pig, cavy, local Spanish "acurite," *Cavia* sp., — not recorded in Kamarakoto and perhaps absent from this area. Taurepán, *atu.* (Koch-Grünberg defines *atu* as "rat," but it is a cavy).

[114]
[101] 287. Spiny rat, local Spanish "casiragua,"[73] *Echimys* and *Proechimys* spp., — *urare.* Taurepán, *urare'.* Hübner (in Koch-Grünberg) gave *urare* as the Makuchi word for "Hesperomys." This is probably an error on the part of Hübner or Koch-Grünberg, for the Taurepánes, so near geographically and linguistically to the Makuchis, certainly confine the name to members of the very different *Echimys* group.

288. Unidentified rat — *simuru.* Said to be a large rat with a long tail, but no specimens were procured. Taurepán informants did not recognize the word.

289. Rats, mice, in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many different genera and species, — *mõmbə.* Taurepán, *mõmbạ.* The Kamarakotos use this word for most small rat-like rodents in a very general sense. ~~My~~ Taurepán informants seemed to use it a little more definitely and to confine it to cricetids of small to moderate size, but this is not certain.

290. Jaguar, local Spanish "tigre" ("tiger"), *Felis onca*, — *kaigutsɛ.* Taurepán, *kaikusɛ.* Makuchi (Williams) *kai-ku-chi.* This is a nearly universal Carib word. The Taurepánes have a fairly elaborate nomenclature for jaguars with various real or mythical color and other differences but

[73] [see footnote on p.315, category 116 - Analyst]

x197
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309. "Pava." smaller variety — paraka.
310. "Guacharaca" — karmaiba.
311. *Dove — wakuwa. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) waku:wa, "dove"
312. *Paují — pabiʔ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pawiʔ, "Hokko (Crax sp.)." Makuchi (Williams) pau-wi, "Crested curassow, Crax nigra."
313. "Poncha" — tsurima.
314. *"Gallineta" — marui. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ma:luʔ, "Inambu, partridge." Makuchi (Williams) ma-ru, "Great tinamou, Tinamus major."
315. "Zorro" (bird) — oroi:bo.
316. "Perdiz" — kuruiʔ.
317. *"Grulla" — namai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) namai, "Psophia crepitans."
318. *Bird resembling a "pava" with red eyes — kota. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kotɛʔ, "curicaca" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
319. *"Piapoca," *toucan with white breast — kuyapo. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kuyawe, "Toucan with red-black bill" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
320. *"Piapoca," toucan with red breast — kõrma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kõ:lema, "small toucan."
321. *Smaller toucan with yellow breast with transverse black stripe — parpari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), palupali, "very small toucan."
322. Toucan similar to the last but very small — kamata.
323. *Domestic fowl — kõroitoko. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tsupara, kalicho. Northern Gran Sabana (on authority of the Kamarakotos) Karibana, supara.[76] Makuchi (Koch-Grünberg) in Nordenskiõld, galiwana, dzuʔpala (= tsupara). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) galijo (j as in English). Purakotó (Koch-Grünberg) kalaka. Akawai (Schomburgk) kariwina.[77] "Carib" (a coastal group) of Venezuela (Tavera-Acosta) Koroktoko. Kaliña (de Goeje) Korotoko.

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[114]
[171]

Nordenskiõld (1922) has mapped and discussed South American Indian names for the domestic fowl in considerable detail, although he devotes least attention to the northeastern region. The great variety of names in this area, differing even in neighboring and closely allied tribes, is curious and suggests that the history was considerably more complex than a single and rapid spread from one center of introduction. It is particularly interesting that the Kamarakoto word is entirely unlike any recorded for other Arekunas or any nearby tribes, but it is like that of the more distant coastal groups like the Kaliña, as if they had received fowls not from their neighbors but directly from the coast. The

76, 77 [see footnotes on p. 365, category 116 - Analyst]

*192
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				Cumanagoto (Adam) t-uto, t-uta, y-ucha, y-ucho. Note also the following words for "tree" given by de Goeje: Cumanagoto ekiche, Chaima yekich. These contain the root for "tree" (yɛʔ in Kamarakoto) and a suffix -ich- comparable with icha.
2. Cucurito (palm)	yoloki	maripa(da)	mariba	I do not find any word very like yoloki. The somewhat similar Astrocaryum palm, awara in Modern Kamarakoto, is yawala in Oyana (de Goeje) and some other dialects. Compare also ka:liki for the cucurito in Guinau (Koch-Grünberg) an Arawak dialect with which the Kamarakotos have been in contact.

● [171]

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keuke that is not too wildly conjectural.

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Of the "Ancient Kamarakoto" words, it can be said that 1, 3, 5, 6, and 8 are rather surely Carib. Four, 7, and 9 might be but the evidence is poor. Two is wholly uncertain. Four is suggestive of Arawak, but not conclusively, and the list as a whole is definitely not Arawak. It is interesting that 1 and 5 quite definitely and 4 and 9 vaguely and uncertainly suggest true Carib roots that are absent or strongly modified in modern Kamarakoto. Since the Kamarakotos could hardly invent these resemblances to dialects unknown to them, these words thus tend to confirm their claim that the list represents a real and distinctive language now extinct.

Without placing too much reliance on it, this curious lot of words is consistent with the Kamarakoto claim that their present language has replaced another. If so, the ancient language was apparently also Carib, but probably was a distinct language and not simply an ancestral form of Kamarakoto. The list is obviously insufficient to establish the closer affinities of the extinct tongue. The whole problem is highly conjectural, but it is possible that some of the Kamarakoto words that differ radically from Taurepán may have been derived from this extinct Carib language.

Spanish Influence in Kamarakoto.

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The Kamarakotos, as a tribe, have had very little contact with Spanish-speaking peoples and the influence of Spanish on their language is almost negligible. The following words of Spanish origin were heard in use by Kamarakotos who did not otherwise speak Spanish:

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● [171]

Kamarakoto	Spanish	Remarks
alakaputsa	arcabuz (arquebus, archaic word for gun)	This is a very old borrowing, spread from tribe to tribe among almost all Indians of this region. The Indians, and most Spanish-speaking travelers, are quite unaware that the word is Spanish.
sara:sa	zaraza	Not, as in Spanish, a particular kind of cloth but

*192

		any non-native cloth, a recent borrowing.
[177] somberero	sombrero (hat))	These are very recent borrowings; both the things and the words have been acquired by the tribe only within the last four or five years.
kamisa	camisa (shirt))	
pantalon	pantalon (trousers))	
alpargata	alpargata (canvas slippers))	
[172] kaña	caña (sugar cane))	These are relatively old borrowings, sugar growing and extraction evidently having spread among the wild tribes even in Colonial times.
● [171] t rabichi	trapiche (cane press))	
watea	batea (wooden bowl or trough)	
kacho	cacho (cow's horn)	A very recent borrowing, the horn being still a great novelty and rarity.
kachimba	cachimba (tobacco pipe)	
kalabotso	calabozo (jail)	The Indians apply this term to an air-tight house, not used as a jail.
tap ra	tabla (wooden board)	The Indians apply this word to boards or mats used to close a door.
sambura	tambur (drum)	The generally accepted Spanish derivation of this word is not quite certain.
pero	perro (dog)	There is a Carib word for "dog" but the Kamarakotos do not use it.

[p. 114]

MATERIAL CULTURE

Dwellings

Types of Buildings.

342 Kamarakotos live in stoutly constructed houses which are semipermanent. They may be occupied until the man who built them dies, sometimes a matter of fifteen or twenty years, although the average time of occupation may be less. [343] According to their purpose, three types can be distinguished: (1) The enclosed dwelling, (2) the wall-less shelter, or work-house, and (3) the air-tight "calabozo." A given family group may have only the first of these, may have the first and second, or may have all three. Most have the first and second, but few have all three.

The simplest type of ordinary dwelling is circular, with a conical roof [17] and one entrance (or rarely two). This, called waipa, is the most universal [114] sort of Carib house and is believed to be the most primitive. Some students go so far as to suppose that it is the only truly Carib type and that elongate or rectangular houses show European influence, a statement that is doubtful to the extreme that it appears to me to be demonstrably false. The elongate house is, in fact, quite unlike any structure made by non-Indian people with whom these Indians have had contact and is a natural development of the circular house. Taking neighboring Carib tribes into consideration, every gradation between the two types can be seen. I cannot but agree with Roth that the elongate or elliptical house is a purely native complication of the circular house.

The elongate house is most common among the Kamarakotos and may be [17] called their typical dwelling. Unlike the elongate houses of which plans are given by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes and by Farabee for the Makuchis, it is not typically elliptical but has straight, parallel sides and semicircular ends. There is a door at each end, as in Farabee's Makuchi houses, not one in the side as shown by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes.

It

343 [402] [252] [352] [313] [116] [171] almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

342 [171] [133] - The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeakɛn, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalabosso, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

335 342 343 [824] The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyɛ' being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[1] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

342 [343] [824] [171] Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yarɛ, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yarɛ, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyarɛ, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yarɛ. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

[105], [106] [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 — Analyst]

[1] [see ~~pp~~. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 — Analyst]

[2] [see ~~pp~~. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 — Analyst]

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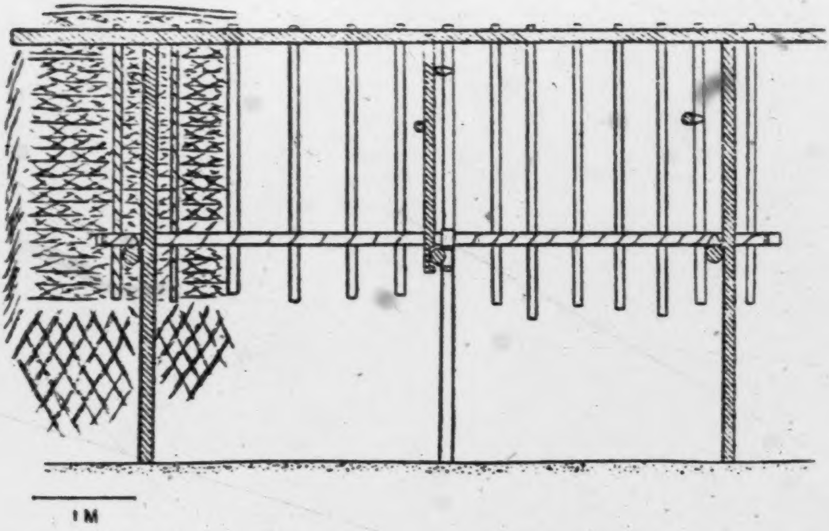

Fig. 3 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter. Same building as Fig. 2, diagrammatic longitudinal section, with far side in projection. The thatch is indicated only at the left end of this.

342 of the Roroimá group, and the Ventuari group, at least, and I see no reason
171 to believe that it is non-Carib. Mud roofs are not used nor are mud bricks.
342 Mud ceilings are doubtless an innovation showing non-Carib influence. I did
not observe the use of bark for walls, such as has been reported among some
other tribes of this general region.

342
335 The basic plan of the circular house consists of a center pole and a ring of short poles supporting the wall. A horizontal ring is supported by the wall poles and a cone of roof-poles radiates from the center pole to this ring. In larger circular houses a second smaller ring of vertical poles may be inserted between the wall and the center pole and upholds a higher ring supporting the middle of the roof-poles. Light sticks or heavy vines are run horizontally around the roof-poles and the thatching is fastened to this.

In the elongate house, each end is built like half of a circular house, each with its own upright center pole, except that the roof is made lower by running the radiating roof-poles not to the top of the upright but to the horizontal,

[text continues on p. 119]

411 murun-yɛ'), long cane (purau-yɛ') shaft, with a short notched hardwood [829] (murun-yɛ') plug or nock at the butt. The three joints are carefully wrapped [237] with thread coated with beeswax. The foreshaft is commonly painted with a reddish gum on which a crude serpentine design may be traced with a finger while it is still wet. A typical specimen is 148 cm. in length: point 4 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 7 1/2 cm., foreshaft 21 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 4 1/2 cm., shaft 107 1/2 cm., and string-plug and its wrapping 3 1/2 cm. The center of gravity is 92 cm. from the butt end — relatively farther forward than in the purau, which is feathered while the panachika is not.

The supalari (Fig. 16A) is like the panachika but is somewhat stouter, [224] with a much heavier point, also steel but lanceolate and not barbed. This is the big-game arrow. The foreshaft is short but stout and there may be supplementary strings running from the point-foreshaft to the foreshaft-shaft wrappings. A specimen measures 155 cm. in length: point 6 1/2 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 3 1/2 cm., foreshaft 9 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 126 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 3 cm. The center of gravity is 100 1/2 cm. from the butt, still farther forward than in the panachika (the foreshaft is shorter but heavier and the point is longer and heavier).

The fourth type of arrow, waibakasi[112] (Fig. 16 C) is mechanically the most complex. It has the same parts as the panachika and supalari, with a relatively very long foreshaft and stout shaft, but the point is detachable. The point proper is of steel and shaped as in the panachika, but this is continued in two posterior prongs around which a hollow core is built with kurawai' string [284] and balata. This core slips loosely onto the sharpened end of the wooden foreshaft and is held there by a loop of heavy cord inserted into the wrappings of the hollow core and looped around the foreshaft about 20 cm. posterior to this insertion. In use a light cord several meters long is attached to this loop and [224] its end held in the left hand. The arrow is used for shooting large fish. When the point penetrates the fish, the loop slips off the foreshaft, the arrow floats away, and leaves the point in the fish and attached to the line held by the shooter. A specimen is 173 1/2 cm. long, including the point, 167 1/2 cm. without the point. The point alone is 7 1/2 cm. from tip to base of core, 8 cm. to end of prongs, of which 3 1/2 cm. is the bare unwrapped point. Foreshaft 55 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 101 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 4 1/2 cm. The center of gravity (with point in place) is 103 cm. from the butt, relatively more posterior than in the panachika or supalari but less so than in the feathered tarau.

411
● 171 The waibakasi is different from anything that I find described among the most nearly neighboring or related Indians and my Taurepân informants had never heard of the object or its name, but it is known among the Makuchi and is widespread in British Guiana (Roth). The other three types of arrows are in general use among neighboring Carib tribes.[113] There are at least three types

[text continues on p. 131]

112, 113 [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

411 ● 171 of arrows used by related tribes that I did not see among the Kamarakotos and that my informants did not know: an arrow with a heavy, blunt wooden point used to stun birds, an arrow with a trident point used to shoot fish (for this and the last see Koch-Grünberg, Taurepán specimens, Vol. III, Plate 14, and Roth 1924, Figs. 52, 54), and one with a detachable poisoned wooden point [208] (Makuchi and Waiwai, Farabee, Plate XXXIII). The Kamarakotos never use poison (curare) on arrows to be shot with a bow.

411 177 The use of steel points is, of course, post-Columbian and comparison with related tribes shows that they have replaced bone and wooden (especially bamboo) points. There is no evidence that this tribe or any close relatives ever used stone arrow points and I have not been able to learn that any have been found in Venezuelan Guayana, although stone axes have. Stone spear (not arrow) points apparently occurred at least among more distantly related tribes. The Kamarakotos do not now use spears. The use of steel points doubtless goes back to colonial times and the Kamarakotos have no memory of their [325] introduction, saying that they have "always" had them. They are made mostly from pieces of old machete blades, worked cold with a file or on stones. Hot working of iron is unknown.

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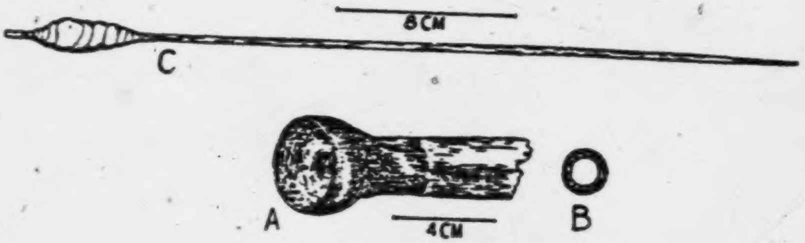

Fig. 17 — Kamarakoto Blowgun and Dart.
A, oblique view of proximal end of blowgun with mouthpiece.
B, end view of distal end showing the two fitted tubes. C, typical dart ready for use, with curare (black) on tip.

The favorite weapon is the blowgun, kurai' (Fig. 17A, B), but it is more expensive to the Indians and is therefore not as common as the bow, which can be entirely made at home. The blowgun is made of two wooden tubes, the inner one (sanwoto) perfectly straight and with a continuous straight bore. This is so weak that it bends when supported only at one end and it also splits easily. It is therefore inserted into an outer casing of harder wood (yurwa), which supports the inner tube but cannot be used alone because it is jointed and cannot be prepared with an even bore. The two tubes are carefully selected and

411 [824] For use, a twist of kapok, atsari-kuma:saʔ, about 45-50 mm. in length, is placed on the dart, leaving about 15 mm. of the blunt end free. The twist is flask-shaped with its greatest diameter nearer the butt end, this diameter being about 12-14 mm., slightly greater than the bore of the blowgun, which is normally about 9-11 mm. The twist of kapok is held in place and in shape by a spiral winding of very fine kurawai fiber. Its function is, of course, to prevent the escape of air around the dart and so to cause the puff of breath to propel it through the tube.

[412] A point on the dart at the posterior end of the poison is placed between two of the sharp teeth of the caribe-jaw and rotated so that it is grooved here and breaks easily.[116] This causes the dart as a whole to break off and drop when it is driven into the prey, leaving the tip with the poison. If a bird is killed and recovered, the tip, called iporosaʔ, is often saved and stuck into the basketwork inside the top of the quiver, as a sort of tally of trophies.

The blowgun is an excellent weapon. The effort of aiming and firing it is slight, once the simple technique of giving the right puff of breath is acquired, and it is extraordinarily hard-hitting and accurate at moderate ranges. Its effective range is about as great as for bow and arrow and its accuracy is [223] much greater, both inherently and in the hands of the Indians. The blowgun 278 is used almost exclusively for shooting birds. The Indians say that the poison 411 is not fatal to cold-blooded animals and that while it will kill mammals the amount carried by a blowgun dart is insufficient to kill most game mammals rapidly. The poison is completely harmless when taken by mouth and the small amount in a bird killed with it has no effect whatever. For that matter although a large amount would doubtless kill a man, the Indians say that a blowgun dart cannot, by its poisonous action, permanently harm a human being and that ● [171] poison was never used in warfare or for executions. This is confirmed by the trustworthy accounts of travelers in other parts of South America and attacks with blowguns by Indians, or murders committed with them, are mere figments of the fiction-writers' imagination.

411 Farabee says that the Makuchis usually wind the outside of the gun with bark or lianas fastened with pitch and Roth also mentions the occasional use of elaborate wrappings. The Kamarakotos never do this. Koch-Grünberg says that the use of the blowgun requires extraordinary skill and no little strength, but this was not our experience. My wife, who is not unusually muscular and can hardly sight a high-powered rifle, was able to handle a blowgun with ease and we both acquired fair accuracy and considerable range with it after ten or twenty practice shots. It is, in fact, an extraordinarily easy weapon to use well, more so than any firearm, and the usual expressions of amazement at the ability of the Indians with the blowgun seem to me to involve extravagant exaggeration.

224 Ground game is usually stalked or run with dogs and killed with an im-
000 provised club, an arrow, or a shotgun. We did not see dogs hunting, but those

[116] [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but those that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely.
● [171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117]
[192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

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[114] Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

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[262]
[423]
[721]
[illegible] Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and, in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227
[172]
[439] All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi' in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

[117] [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

252 fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is ba-
[262] nanas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which
is eaten with casave.

372 Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably
[171] the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled be-
tween the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do
this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points,
flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely
[317] native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sand-
stone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulũ-kulũ (literally
"file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped
with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this
apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principal-
ly when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether.
Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to
firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to
the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

252 Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially
354 for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar purposes commonly are also
on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, usually three, of equal height
to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple
but characteristic hearth, apoíʔ piapoʔ. This is merely an excavation in the
ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each
side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

252 Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept
going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter
or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

[262] Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the
[171] same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be de-
252 scribed in detail. The roots, kõsę, are first scraped with a knife and then
412 grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, samaːri, is not made
[439] by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied
Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the
manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-
[114] Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás,
a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the com-
plete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those
used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin.
In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones
or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

252 The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezue-
288 lan Spanish and tangõiʔ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

252 basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and
[285] open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangöiʼ is
filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such
beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is
then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The
[482] preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the
tangöiʼ and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the
bottom and is saved.

[415] The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve,
pangaiʼ (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat
stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular
cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat
[251] soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard.
262 To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but
those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor.
It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

251 Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it
without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

262 Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin
● [171] stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs.
[252] This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable
varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else
that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas
or plantains, etc.

252 Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of
[263] condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, pre-
dominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or
stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties
of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed
into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled
mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes,
pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may
be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-
kambwö.

263 There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any be-
[135] ing used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it
[439] through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the
Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is
so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless
[146] counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless
naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

[121] [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 — Analyst]

252 Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still [172] green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any cornbread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the 273 juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash 171 for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122] [263] The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco, 407 Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian, [171] especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

[173] Nordenskiöld (1930) has shown that such cane presses are widespread in northern South America and he has argued rather conclusively that they represent a true Indian invention made in post-Columbian times to deal with an introduced plant. [114] The alternative view that the press was introduced by the Negroes is largely disproven by the fact that no such apparatus exists in Africa, as Nordenskiöld points out, and also by its typically Indian distribution, use among Negroes only by those who have had every opportunity to learn it from Indians, especially Caribs, and use by many Indians who could hardly have received it from Negroes.

177 The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign 407 plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and [401] technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice,

122, 123 [see footnotes on p.321, category 116 - Analyst]

273 Other varieties are named for their principal ingredient. Among them are:

napuey-yeuku,	from mapueyes.
piricha-yeuku,	from yams.
icha-yeuku,	from sweet potatoes.
anai-yeuku,	from corn.

-yeuku means simply "juice," but all these are understood to be fermented.

Kachiri has a somewhat sour, gaseous, but pleasant taste. It is a mild intoxicant, perhaps about like a heavy beer or light wine, but on festive occasions it is taken in such enormous quantities that the participants finally become as effectively drunk as if they had taken distilled liquor. It has been the general experience of travelers to acquire a taste for this drink, which is refreshing and mild when taken in moderation.

276 The only narcotic known is tobacco, which is used by both sexes and all
[249] ages except the most tender.[124] Tobacco, doubtless pre-Columbian through-
out this area, is grown at each settlement. The leaves are tied along a bark
string and tied in the houses to dry. When anyone wishes to smoke, he takes
[172] a leaf or two, rolls a cigar, and smokes it forthwith. The Kamarakotos are
familiar with pipes, which they call by the Venezuelan Spanish name,
"cachimba," but these are very little used and certainly are a recent innovation.
Those that are used are improvised from palm or other soft wood, hollowed out,
with a hollow reed inserted in one side. Cigarettes are not normally used and
tobacco is not chewed or snuffed. An aqueous infusion of tobacco is used by
the piaches (see "Magic and Religion") but not by other persons and not for
pleasure.

Household Furnishings

Tools and Weapons.

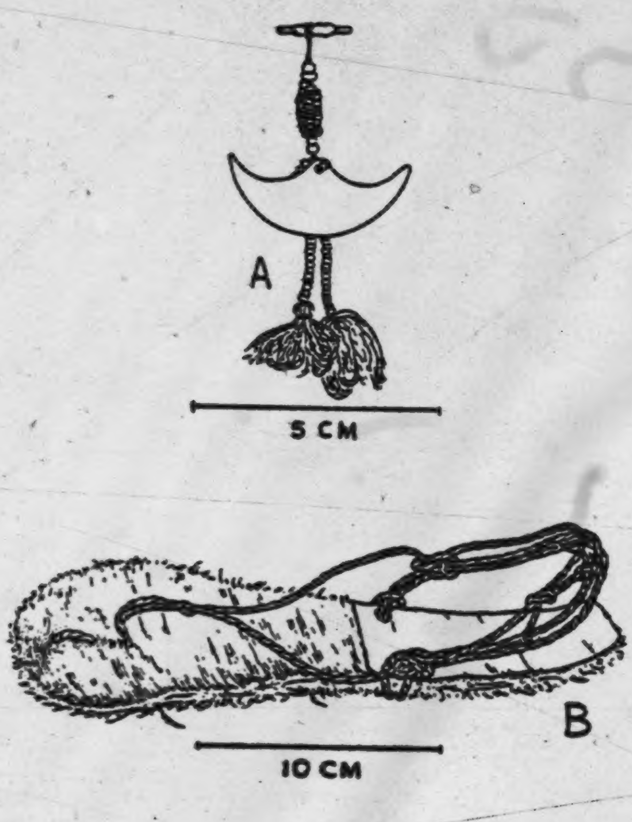
411 The principal weapons have been sufficiently characterized in dealing
● [171] with hunting on a previous page. One typical Carib weapon, the wooden war
club, was not seen although from its general distribution there is no doubt that
it was formerly known to these people. Some may still exist, but there is no
[173] current use for them and they are not now manufactured. In legends of tribal
warfare, as I heard them, clubs are not mentioned and the fighting is said to
have been entirely with bow and arrow. This is unlikely, but at least it reflects
the present lack of knowledge or interest in clubs.

412 The universal tools are now machetes, axes, knives, and files, all of
177 steel and of foreign make (mostly North American or German). Although not

124 [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 — Analyst]

291 (Fig. 33A). The loincloth is a long band of red fabric, now always trade goods but formerly of cotton homespun, passed between the legs, looped over the belt, and usually, but not always, wrapped around the waist, in such a way as to form a tight pouch over penis and testicles with one end hanging free in front of this and the other similarly hanging down behind.

301



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[283]
[824]

Fig. 32 — Kamarakoto Earring and Sandal.
A, earring, a silver crescent pendant with red, white, and blue beads and red cotton tassels. B, typical sandal of moriche palm leaf base with moriche fiber cords.

● [171] The native sandal (Fig. 32B), is almost identical in pattern with one of the crudest types used by the lower classes in northern Venezuela, but it seems certain that the latter is a survival of a widespread pre-Columbian pattern and that this is native and not introduced among the Kamarakotos and allied tribes.[132]

[132] [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[829] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[285] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[464] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[177] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[286] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
[531] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an
174 interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

114 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
291 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
[177] Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

286 *III. Rigid materials that unite a fabric of flexible strands passed through holes in these.

> Beads and analogous pierced pieces of all sorts of materials, animal, vegetable, and mineral. (Kamarakotos use glass beads and pierced seeds.) These are not often classed as textile materials, but there are many true textiles that cannot be made without them, in which they are an integral part of the weave which would unravel or collapse without them.

248 283 Of the twisted or spun fibers, cotton, the only one that they spin, properly speaking, is the most important to the Kamarakotos. It is extensively planted, both in the farm patches (conucos) and in small thickets around the houses. The latter may have sprung up originally from discarded seeds, but they are encouraged and used extensively and cotton will grow fairly well on the relatively barren sabanas. It ripens in the latter part of the dry season and when the pods split they are gathered, dried and bleached in the sun in a basketwork tray, and ginned and carded by hand. No comb or other device for carding is employed to supplement the fingers, but the cotton is slowly teased and worked out into a long roll, the thickness depending on the weight of the desired thread.

283 824 Of the fibers that are twisted, rather than spun, only two are important or appear to be truly native and regularly employed, one from a *Bromelia* and the other from the moriche palm, *Mauritia*. The leaves of the *Bromelia*, *kurawaiʼ* of the Kamarakotos, "curagua" in colloquial Venezuelan (a cognate word), are pulled through a loop to break them and expose the fibers which are then carefully drawn by hand, washed, and dried and bleached in a tray in the sun. The coarser but strong and lustrous *Mauritia* fibers are made from young leaves, split into segments and then broken by doubling and pulling in the fingers until the fiber bundles can be drawn. These are soaked well in water, cleaned and sometimes further split, and then dried and bleached.

[171] The fibers of the *Agave* and *Fourcroya* type, "cocuiza," "cocuy," "maguey," etc., so widely used in northern Venezuela, are not used by the Kamarakotos although one of the "modernists" suggests their introduction. Since they serve no other purpose than do the curagua and moriche fibers and are decidedly inferior to these, it is to be hoped that his plans will not work out.

285 824 Among untwisted textile materials, for baskets, mats, fish traps, etc., three are in general use: palm leaves, a small flexible vine, and the split cortex of a reed. Almost any palm leaves may be used occasionally, but the two regularly employed are moriche (*Mauritia*) leaves, *kwai-yarę*, and seje (*Oenocarpus*) leaves, *kunwada-yarę*. The palmate moriche leaves require splitting while the pinnate seje leaves do not, but in both cases the strips are not detached from the rib, which becomes part of the finished object.

285
824 Any flexible vine may be used for cord, but the only one commonly used for textile work (traps and a few baskets) is *trimo?*, "bejuco de alambrito" in colloquial Venezuelan (but this term is applied to various small vines and I do not know the botanical name of this particular one).[140] This vine is peeled, occasionally split and trimmed, and gives a basket-material of Class II-B-a-2 of the classification given above.

By far the commonest and most important of basket materials, however, is a split reed, probably *Ischnosiphon* sp., called "tirita" or "tiriti," in Venezuelan Spanish, and *manare* in Kamarakoto.[141] These reeds are split longitudinally into segments (usually eight in number) and the pith is cleaned from each. The green epidermis is usually removed, but may be left. The outer (convex) surface is sometimes painted black with pot soot, for weaving patterns, but usually they are left of the natural color which is pale yellow, turning pale brown, for the peeled, and pale green, turning a darker brown, for the unpeeled segments.

The only other basket material of any importance is a vine (actually a palm with the habit of a vine) called *wadapi*, a species of *Desmoncus*, "camuare" in local Spanish, closely allied to the well-known "albarico" of northern Venezuela. Suitably split and flexed, this gives a flat wicker of rich, dark brown color. I saw no baskets made entirely of this among the Kamarakotos, but they commonly use it for the color contrast as an occasional strand in a basket otherwise made of *manare*.

Spinning and Twisting.

283
114
128 Throughout the great South American textile area, variations in technique are numerous and characteristic and have been made the subject of an important monograph by Frödin and Nordenskiöld (1918). The present section will briefly describe the Kamarakoto variations of these processes and will fit them into the distributional pattern that Frödin and Nordenskiöld have established.

283
171 For spinning cotton, the Kamarakotos use a true spindle (Fig. 35), such as occurs all over South America except in the farthest south and a few isolated areas (e.g. on the upper Rio Negro and Yapura). Within a more limited area, Im Thurn and others have shown that the Caribs almost all use spindles and spin cotton while the Arawaks often do not, using twisted fibers instead, except under apparent Carib influence.

Frödin and Nordenskiöld divide South American spindles into the Bororó-type, in the Andes and the far southern or southwestern Amazon Basin, and the Bakaïrí-type, practically everywhere on the continent. The Kamarakoto spindle belongs, of course, to the latter type, with its lower end thickened and only roughly rounded, the whorl wedged onto this and adapted for vertical spinning, and the thread wound on the working end above the whorl.

140, 141 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 - Analyst]

283 ●[77] the upper end. The upper, working, end does not have a hook but a head, a slight double swelling formed by notching. This is a common type of spindle among the coast Caribs and the Motilones, and it is remarkably like many Bolivian spindles, but it is curiously unlike the Taurepán spindle which, according to Koch-Grünberg, has the whorl, which is usually decorated, near the middle and has a hook. It is still less like the Maquiritare type, which is much larger and is used horizontally and not dropped.

In use, the unspun cotton is held in the left hand, the spindle is started rotating by rolling the lower shaft (below the whorl) on the right thigh with the right hand, and it is then dropped, still whirling (Fig. 36). Tension is kept up by the left hand and by the weight of the spindle when dropped. This is the procedure also of the Taurepánes, despite their different spindle, and of most of the other tribes of this region but not, as has been noted, of the Maquiritares.

In all the Kamarakoto spun cotton that I have examined the spinning is to the left, i.e., when the thread is held horizontally the fibers (in the basic [77] single strand) run from left-up to right-down. This is true also of the Taurepánes and Maquiritares and probably of Caribs generally, as far as the point has been determined, but the non-Carib Bakaïrís, who have given their name to this general type of spindle, spin to the right and so do many other tribes. Left-spinning is not exclusive to the Caribs but it is certainly one of their striking characteristics.

The single strand thread resulting from one spinning is, if well-made, very fine and rather weak and it is almost never used in this form. Usually two strands are attached and are twisted together on another spindle, making a two-ply twine. This spinning is always in the opposite direction, i.e. to the right, which keeps the first twist tight. Two two-ply strands are often twisted again, this time to the left, to make a composite four-ply twine, a double two-ply. A straight three-, four-, five-, and up to eight- (or even more) ply twine may also be made by one twist, to the right, from the basic strands and various combinations occur. A 21-ply heavy cord made from three 7-ply strands is not uncommon, and I have seen a piece of 93-ply cord, as strong as rope, made of three twists of thirt-one strands each, but I am not certain that this was Kamarakoto although so informed by the Indians. This heaviest twining is not done on a spindle but is rolled on the thigh with the palm of the hand.

All these native twines are remarkably fine and uniform and sometimes can hardly be distinguished from a machine-made cotton twine.

Moriche and curagua twines are not made with a spindle but are rolled on the right thigh with the right hand while the fibers are fed and tension adjusted with the left hand. Long strings finer and stronger than those of cotton may thus be made and like cotton twine they are usually of more than one ply, with about the same repertory as for cotton. With these fibers, however, and especially curagua, the number of individual fibers in the basic strand can be more exactly

[text continues on p. 163]

283 controlled and the fibers are individually longer, so that an almost microscopic
strand of a few fibers or a heavy, up to 3 mm., single-twisted strand can be
produced. Thus a stout 3-ply bowstring is made from three heavy initial strands,
each about 2 mm. in diameter. The basic twisting in this manner is more
often to the right, but both are common, and I believe that Kamarakoto hand-
●[171] twining must be classified as mixed with right predominating. Frödin and
Nordenskiöld have shown that right hand-twining is much more common than
left and they classify the Arekunas (probably all Taurepánes in their sample)
as right-twining, but with exceptional left-twining and they do show the Guiana
coastal Indians as mixed in this respect. In fact, some Indians, including the
Kamarakotos, make hand-twine by a technique that can twist it both ways from
the middle, and in general the direction of twisting in hand-twisting is not as
consistent or as clear a reflection of basic technique as for spinning.

In making some moriche twine, as for sandal fastenings, a curious and rapid technique is employed. The fibers are separated into two bundles and rolled up the thigh, both at once but so that they remain separate, producing two left-twisted strands. The hand then immediately runs down the thigh, twisting these two strands together into a right-twisted two-ply twine.

[824] While on the subject of twine, it should be remembered that strips of bark and vines of all kinds and sizes are often used like twine or rope. Thus tobacco will be tied into a strip of bark for curing, house frames are tied together with vines, etc. Aside from their uses in textiles, however, the spun and twisted twines are commonly used as string to tie loads, baskets, etc.

Textiles Made of Thread.

28 Textiles made of thread (or twine), which is highly flexible in all directions, naturally require different techniques and serve different purposes from those made of more rigid materials, such as those employed in basketry. The two are, however, related and show a tendency toward association in a single culture complex. This is especially true in cases, like that of the Kamarakotos, in which the basketry is plaited, twined, and woven — techniques also employed in thread textiles — rather than coiled — a technique that cannot be applied to thread textiles.

283 Cotton and bast threads have much the same properties, but they differ
286 enough that in any one tribe a given type of textile is almost invariably made
171 of one and not the other. Between different tribes there may, however, be re-
[352] placement of one by the other. Thus the Kamarakotos and most other Caribs
make cotton hammocks but many Arawaks, who are in general less proficient
[462] in cotton techniques, make bast-thread hammocks.[142] There is also commonly
an element of sexual division of labor in these differences. Among the Kamara-
kotos and various other tribes the spinning of cotton and the manufacture of

142 [see footnote on p.323, category 116 - Analyst]

283 textiles from it is woman's work while the twisting of bast and the manufacture
286 of textiles from it, although occasionally performed by a woman, is generally
[171] [462] man's work.

In this tribe, however, bast textiles are uncommon. Bast thread or twine is usually used as such and the only textile usually made of it is netting.

286 The Kamarakotos say that they formerly made large pieces of cloth not unlike the "zaraza" or trade goods now used for loin cloths and dresses. They
●[171] are still acquainted with a weaving technique capable of producing true cloth, hardly identical with "zaraza" but similar, and such fabrics are known from related tribes. (E.g., Roth, 1924, Plate 10, Fig. C, shows an Akawai baby sling that includes a large quadrangle of native woven cloth.) At present, however, the supply of trade goods is nearly enough equal to the demand and this true weaving technique is used only to produce long narrow bands.

The Kamarakotos now know and use five thread-textile techniques, each closely associated with different finished articles. To these should be added the several bead-techniques, which also use thread but are so distinct that they are here discussed separately. The five thread techniques are as follows:

1. True weaving, producing long narrow bands for headdresses, carrying straps, etc.
2. Loom twining, producing an open-meshed fabric made in the form of hammocks.
3. Loom plaiting, producing wide circular bands used as baby slings.
4. One-needle crocheting, producing a tight fabric usually in small circular bands, for armlets, anklets, purses (pakara), etc.
5. Knotting, producing netting mainly for fish nets.

[114] True weaving is the one textile technique that I did not see and the de-
[126] scription of it was not entirely clear to me. I have, however, good specimens of the textile thus made. The warp is composed of relatively few strands, usually four for a headband but as many as thirty-two for a carrying strap, which are stretched on a simple frame or between fixed sticks (this is the point that was not clear to me in the description of the process). The weft is then woven in by hand, using a flat stick as a separator and batten. (The Kamarakotos do not use either heddles or shuttles in any of their textile work, although both are known among some rather distantly related tribes in British Guiana.) The whole weft is a single continuous strand, which doubles back around the last warp strand on each side.

Although the weaving technique is basically the same for both, two fabrics of quite different appearance are made in this way (Fig. 37). In one, used for headbands, each warp strand is a thick bundle of separate threads (each of which is, in turn, usually two-ply). A six-fold warp strand is common, but the number is not constant. These heavy warp strands remain straight and the weft strands are simply twined around them. The surface of the finished fabric is

286 groups of strands run across the warp at intervals and plaited around the warp strands so as to hold them in place. It is thus a sort of plaited crosstie rather than a weft in the more usual sense of the word.

Each crosstie, bar, or group of weft strands to be plaited consists of four separate threads. To start, these are tied together at one end, leaving short ends projecting as a simple fringe. A front warp strand and one from the back are then taken together and two weft strands pass in front and two behind. The two back weft strands are then brought through to the front passing outside (to left and right of) the front weft strands, and then become the front strands for plaiting in the next pair of warp strands. This does not plait all four weft strands together but makes each crosstie essentially two separate plaitings, of two strands each, tied at the ends. It is, however, common, probably usual, to cross the pair of strands at each point where it goes through from front to back, which has the effect of plaiting all four together, so that, for instance, a weft strand that is at the far right behind the warp at one point will be at the far left in front at the third warp-group thereafter. (Fig. 38.) This is different from and superior to any of the crossties shown by Roth for British Guiana tribes. It is also used by the Taurepánes, for whom Roth shows only a very simple and relatively poor two-strand crosstie, which I did not see either among them or among the Kamarakotos. The crosstie that I have described is, however, probably that shown by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes, although he does not describe it adequately and his figure is not clear beyond showing a four-strand tie.[143]

When a crosstie is completed its four strands are tied also at the lower end with a short fringe left. When all the crossties are done, the free end loops of the warp are plaited in groups and looped onto heavier strands which are all gathered into a single loop at the end into which the hanging-rope, "colgadero," is tied. (See Figs. 39-40.)

● [171] [352] Although cruder hammocks are known, these simple hammocks are far inferior to the complicated and often beautiful vertical-warp hammocks made by some tribes, see, e.g., Roth's illustrations of British Guiana specimens, some of which, he says, have been articles of a thriving trade and sold for as much as $400.

286 171 The technique that Roth calls "frame looping" but for which loom-plaiting seems to me a more accurately descriptive term is one of the most peculiar characteristic and interesting achievements of the Indians of this region. It is known not only to the Kamarakotos but also to the Taurepánes (and so doubtless to the Arekunas as a whole), the Maquiritares (at least the Yekuaná tribe), the Akawais (at least the Patamona tribe), the Makuchis, and some neighboring Arawaks (at least the Wapishana and Atorai tribes), among all of whom it is carried on in essentially the same way. It is a regional culture element not distributed tribally or racially.

[143] [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analyst]

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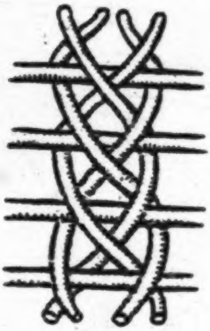

Fig. 38 — Kamarakoto Hammock Crosstie. Diagram showing how the four-strand crosstie holds the longitudinal warp strands of the hammock. In the actual hammock the warp strands, here shown as single for clarity, are always double.

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171 Nordenskiöld calls this technique Tumupasa, from a group of Tacana-speaking Indians northeast of Lake Titicaca, who use it, and he shows that it has a very curious distribution: in the Guiana region here considered and in the far southwestern part of the Amazon Basin (Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 26). It is barely conceivable that so complex a technique could have arisen independently in these two areas, but no satisfactory explanation has been given for its occurrence in two regions so separate geographically, culturally and racially.

286 In this technique there is no distinction of warp and weft. All the strands are placed on the loom in the same direction and all are treated in the same way, intertwining them with each other, so that the process is pure plaiting and not weaving even though a loom is used: This loom consists of two crossed sticks, like a large X, with a transverse stick tied across each end (Fig. 41). A new loom is improvised when needed and no care is taken in their manufacture except to see that the transverse bars are smooth so that the thread slips on them easily. The thread is tightly wound in a long spiral around these end pieces just as, on a much larger scale, the hammock warp is wound. When in use, one end of the loom is grasped with the toes and the other end rests on the knees or upper legs, leaving the hands free for plaiting (Fig. 42).

To make the simplest pattern, one-over-one, the first thread (on the worker's left side) is passed under the second, then drawn above it and looped over the fingers (first finger or first two or three) of the left hand. Then the

[text continues on p. 169]

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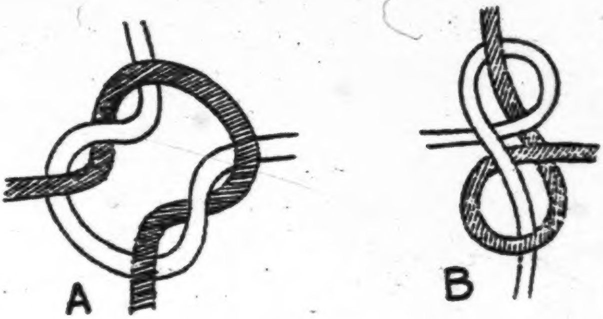

Fig. 45 — Kamarakoto Netting Knots.
A, B, the two usual types of knots used in making nets like those of Fig. 18. One thread is shaded for clarity. They are, of course, identical in character in the actual fabric and the knot is pulled tight.

286 alternating the patterns a varied design can be produced, often with very artistic effect. A favorite pattern is woven mainly in one-over-two, with numerous narrow transverse bands of two-over-two, often winding up at the lock or crosstie with wider sections of tightly woven two-over-two.

[854] [822] [439] The finished baby sling (Fig. [illegible]3 B) is sometimes left white (a color it does not retain) and sometimes dyed pink or red. The Taurepánes obtain brightly colored thread by unraveling trade hammocks from Brazil and by tying some of these into their own white thread, they make baby slings with varicolored diagonal bands, but the Kamarakotos do not do this and it is probably another neomorph arising from the adaptation of a foreign material to a native technique.

● [171] The fourth thread textile technique may be called one-needle crocheting, because it is composed of interlocking loops of thread made with the aid of a single hooked needle.[144] This art, no less peculiar than loom-plaiting, is also widespread, although apparently less so, and aside from the Arekunas is known among the Makuchis, Akawais, "Caribs" (probably Kaliñas), and perhaps a few other tribes. Articles as made by the Kamarakotos are more even and tight in mesh and more skillfully designed and finished than any I have seen, or seen illustrated, made by other Indians and it may be claimed that the Kamarakotos have brought this art to its highest development.

286 413 177 The needle used may be and doubtless formerly always was a wooden pin with a hook carved at the end. Now a large wire nail with the tip bent and filed to make a smooth hook is preferred and most of the women have such

[144] [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analyst]

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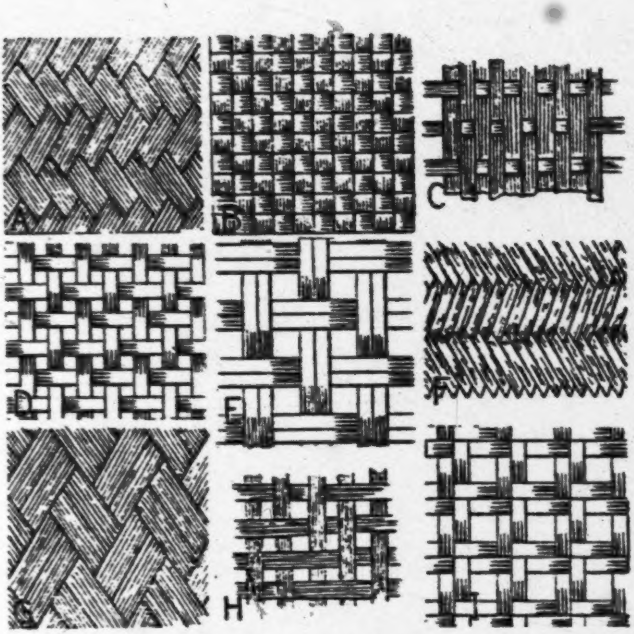

Fig. 50 — Guayana Indian Basketry Techniques.
Kamarakoto unless otherwise noted.
A, One-over-two twilled woven plaiting. B, closed checked woven plaiting. (After Roth, Makuchi.) C, half-open, one-over-one, checked woven plaiting. D, open, one-over-one, checked woven plaiting. (After Roth, Siuai.) E, open, two-over-two, checked woven plaiting. (After Roth, Patamona.) F, all-over, one-over-four, twilled woven plaiting. G, all-over, two-over-three, twilled woven plaiting. H, all-over, open, single-strand, one-over-two twilled woven plaiting. I, all-over, open, paired-interwoven-strand twilled woven plaiting. (After Roth, Makuchi.)

*285 nor do they use special baskets for religious purposes, or in connection with burial rites.

[128] In attempting a summary of this abundant and complex material it is convenient to consider first the basic techniques involved, the way in which the materials are united to form basketry textiles, and next the forms, functions, and nomenclature of the objects produced. Basketry is here taken to include all textile work made of untwisted materials, as opposed to the thread-textiles and thread-and-bead textiles, and so includes such things as mats and trays that are not, strictly speaking, baskets.

*285 114 Technique. Indian basketry has been intensively studied in North America and several similar classifications of techniques have been based on those studies. For present purposes reference should be made particularly to Mason (1904), ● [171] Kissell (1916), and Weltfish (1930). The basketry of the northeastern part of South America, essentially a single culture area in this respect and one of which the Kamarakotos form an integral and typical part, has not been so carefully studied. Mason and some other students of North American basketry have mentioned it more or less incidentally and there are at least two excellent special studies, by Schmidt (1904) and by Roth (1924 and 1929). Practically all travelers in this region have mentioned basketry and many have figured or described various baskets, but without making any great contribution to classification and detailed understanding of techniques or of objects made of basketry. Even Koch-Grünberg, whose work is so thorough and extensive, says little of importance regarding basketry among the Taurepánes or other tribes that he studied.

*285 128 The following classification of techniques, although including almost all known, is made from the special point of view of the work of the Kamarakotos and their cultural allies. It is based especially on synthesis of the views of the five authorities cited above, as well as on the specimens themselves. Techniques positively known among the Kamarakotos are starred. Those that have not been surely identified among the Kamarakotos but are present in more or less typical form in this broader cultural area are marked with a dagger, † . Those unmarked do not occur here, or occur only as rare and decidedly atypical variants.

*285 *I. Elements of approximately equal size and flexibility and all more or less active----------------PLAITING.

    *A. Elements approximately parallel at start (worked together) (always worked in two directions)-----------Plain Plaiting.

        †1. Simply alternating quadrangles------Checked Plain Plaiting.

        *2. In stepped or more complexly alternating quadrangles[146]-----------Twilled Plain Plaiting.

            *1 over 2.

            Etc.

    *B. Elements at angles to each other at start (one set or more woven across the others)-----------------Woven Plaiting.

        *1. Elements in two directions

            *a. Regularly alternating quadrangles----Checked Woven Plaiting.

                †Closed

                *Half-open (one set of elements open, the other closed).

                    *1 over 1

                    *1 over 2

                    Etc.

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[146] [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analyst]

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2. Warps in more than one direction------------Lattice Wicker.
†B. Weft twined (two or more intertwined strands in each weft element)------------------------------------Twined Weave.
†1. Warp in one direction---------------------Plain and Twilled Twined Weave.
2. Warps in more than one direction----------- Lattice Twined Weave.
•C. Weft wrapped (single weft strand doubling around warp elements)----------------------------------Wrapped Weave.
1. Warp in one direction---------------------Plain and Twilled Wrapped Weave.
*2. Warps in more than one direction-----------Lattice Wrapped Weave.
†D. Weft locked or imbricate[148]-----------------Locked Weave.
III. Active element coiled, or coiled along a passive element-----COILING.
A. One element, jointly active and passive-------------Crude Coil.
B. Separate active and passive elements-----------Foundation Coil.[149]

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Recent classifications based on North American basketry usually recognize five main techniques: plaiting, wicker, twining, wrapping, and coilin[illegible] of which the second to fourth are often united as weaving and contrasted w[illegible] coiling and with plaiting. Schmidt long ago pointed out that such a classif[illegible]cation, excellent for most of North America, is very poor when South American baskets are included and that, indeed, the most common and typical of all South American baskets cannot properly be placed in any of these categories. They often have a relatively active (weft) and a relatively inactive (warp) set of elements, and so resemble weaving rather than plaiting, but they are not wicker in any usual use of that word and are not twined or wrapped in any possible sense of those words. On the other hand, they may be made with all the elements about equally "active" or "passive," and hence be considered as plaiting, but the technique and the result are not essentially unlike the more literally "woven" basketry and cannot logically be considered as in a different major category.

Schmidt maintains, and I think with considerable probability, that this most important class of South American basketry is genetically related to plaiting rather than to weaving even though in some variations it falls within some technical definitions of weaving. It probably arose from the still widely used plaiting of segments of palm leaves, left attached to their midrib, and developed in the direction of weaving when unattached fibers, particularly split reeds, were used. Such work did not develop over most of North America because its primitive material, palm leaves, was generally absent there, although some North American work converged toward it departing not from plaiting but from wicker weaving. Thus of the two techniques, even though

148, 149 [see footnotes on pp. 324-25, category 116 - Analysis]
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[text continues on p. 183]

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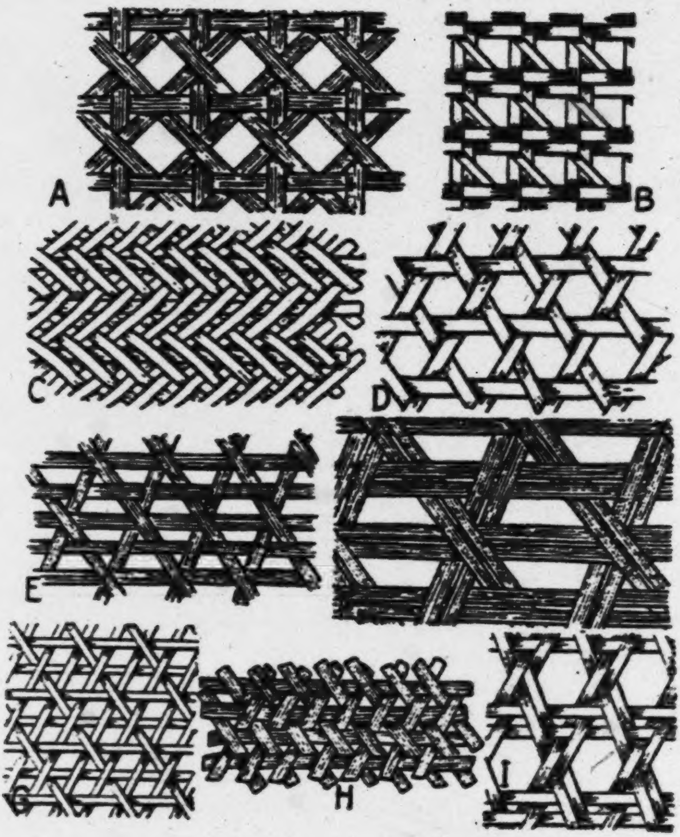

Fig. 52 — Guayana Indian Basketry Techniques.
Kamarakoto unless otherwise stated.

A. Crossed quadrangular lattice, base strands untwilled, elements in four directions. B. Crossed quadrangular lattice, paired twilled base strands, elements in three directions. (After Roth, Makuchi.) C. Crossed quadrangular lattice, base of single-strand one-over-three twill, crossed in one direction. D. Plain single-strand hexagonal lattice. E. Single-strand hexagonal lattice with extra strands in one direction. F. Same as E but double-strand. G. Single-strand hexagonal lattice with extra strands in two directions. (After Roth, tribe not designated.) H. Single-strand hexagonal lattice with extra strands in three directions. I. Two-ply hexagonal lattice of twilled, paired strands. (After Roth, tribe not specified.)

*285 they approach identity in a few cases, one is best considered as a development
128 of plaiting with separate strands begun at an angle and the other as weaving
● 171 with a relatively more flexible and less inactive warp than in true wicker.

*285 In order to accommodate this greatest class of South American basket
128 textiles in the classification I have introduced another category under the rather clumsy but not entirely inept term "woven plaiting," leaving as "weaving," strictly speaking, wicker, twined, and wrapped work in which there is an absolute distinction between warp and weft, and the former is practically inflexible, or at least no special use is made of its flexibility within the weave (but only to shape the whole form of the object woven).

Since it includes almost all the basketry of the Indians under discussion, the subdivision of woven plaiting is of course carried to a much finer degree than that of the divisions that are less pertinent here.

*285 Among these Indians the distinction between woven plaiting and wicker weaving is difficult to maintain and is admittedly largely artificial, although it seems necessary to keep it in a classification of more than local use because as between different culture areas there is an absolute distinction here. It seems probable that what little wicker weaving the Kamarakotos do has simply arisen from their checked woven plaiting in part from the rare use of a relatively inflexible fiber and in part from certain unusual forms in which it is most convenient to hold one set of elements rigidly (whether or not they are inherently flexible) while the other set is woven across them. However, it arose, real wicker weaving is used by the Kamarakotos for flask-like baskets to hold kapok (for blowgun darts) and, more dubiously, on the shallow rims of square trays (matu:tu), but for practically no other purpose.

[171] Lattice wicker and lattice twining are perhaps unknown and certainly
[286] rare in this whole culture area. I did not see or hear of any twined basketry among the Kamarakotos, although they use this technique freely in thread-textiles, another small bit of evidence that their basketry is to be considered as an offshoot of plaiting rather than of weaving.[150] Such work, of the simplest sort, is known in this culture area but it is rare and is most likely to be used for things like pot stands that are not baskets and can barely be considered as textile work even in the broadest sense.

[171] Wrapping is even rarer than twining. Plain and twilled wrapped weaving was not seen among the Kamarakotos and is rare or absent over the whole culture area, but a limited use is made of lattice wrapping — the Kamarakotos make fish traps in this way. Although it cannot technically be excluded from basketry, I suspect that this technique really has nothing to do with any of the other Kamarakoto basketry and is to be related rather to the techniques involved in house building, especially roofing, that is, simply to the procedure of tying rigid poles together.

[150] [see footnote on p.325, category 116 – Analyst]

*285 ● 171 The particular variety of wrapping that Roth calls locked or imbricate is unknown to the Kamarakotos and although Roth is not completely explicit on this point it appears to be nearly confined to the Arawaks and Warraus, but borrowed by a few adjacent Caribs. Its essential character is that the warp[151] is horizontal and either that it is looped (or wrapped) alternately by successive weft strands or that these interlock between themselves, or both. There are at least four definitely different techniques under this general subdivision, but they are not specified in the classification because none of them appear to be known to the Kamarakotos or to the Arekunas in general. Their special interest from a broader point of view is that they do constitute another limited and exceptional group of basketry techniques, like twining and wrapping, that cannot like almost all the basketry techniques of this culture area be closely related to plaiting.

*285 171 101 True coiling is quite unknown anywhere in this area, which is thus characterized by the exuberant development of plaiting and derived techniques, the sporadic and scanty development of the true weaving techniques (aside from those developed from plaiting) and the absence of the coiling techniques. This culture area is thus well distinguished, in this respect, not only from the almost completely different western North American areas but also from western South America, Mexico with Central America, and eastern North America. It is, however, interesting and significant that it does show unmistakable affinity with a relatively small area in southeastern United States (10 of Weltfish's map, 1930, Fig. 2), an area of quite distinct basic culture but one showing definite West Indian, and thence indirectly South American, influence, short-circuiting the long overland cultural transitions by way of Central America.[152] It is also pertinent to Schmidt's thesis that this is the only part of North America (beyond the transitional Central American region) where materials analogous to the South American palm leaves were generally available.

Within the categories of plaiting and woven plaiting, almost every reasonable possibility has been explored by the various Indians of this culture area and, as shown by the classification, the Kamarakotos use varieties of most
*285 of the subdivisions of these techniques. I found among them no examples of
171 what would seem superficially to be the simplest techniques of all: checked plain plaiting and closed checked woven plaiting. Roth gives some examples from British Guiana, but even there these techniques are evidently rare. In fact these are techniques that would be avoided by skilled workers and they may even be more difficult than twilled work because the usual basketry materials of this region are not flexible enough to close easily when the overlaps are as close together as they must be in the checked pattern.

Open checked woven plaiting is also eschewed by the Kamarakotos and probably by most or all of their allies, although Koch-Grünberg found examples
*285 on the Rio Negro. This produces a relatively weak fabric decidedly inferior

151, 152 [see footnotes on p. 325, category 116 - Analyst]

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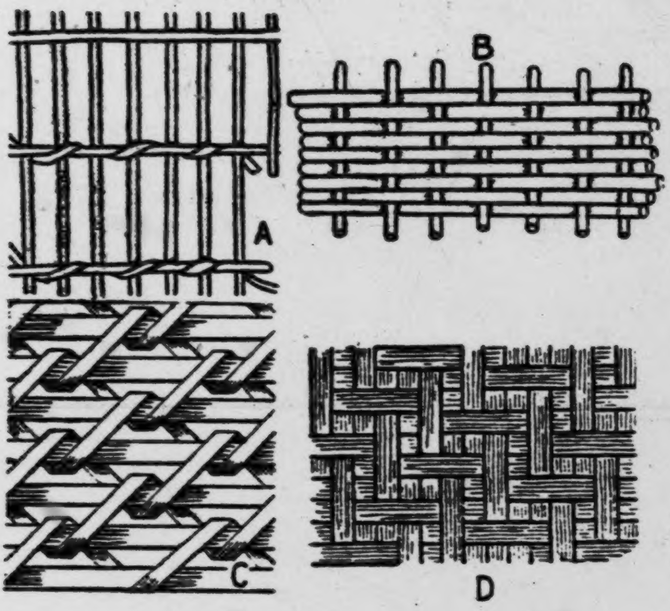

Fig. 53 — Guayana Indian Basketry Techniques.
A. Lattice wrapped weave (relatively stiff warp elements in two directions wrapped together by a flexible weft). Kamarakoto. B. Checked wicker. Kamarakoto. C. Locked weave. Tribe not specified (after Roth). D. An unusual, complex twill seen on a basket in use by Taurepánes, by some said to be made by that tribe and by others, said to be Makuchi, but surely Carib of the Roroima Region.

*285 to the various open twilled and lattice patterns and so is avoided by the more expert workers. The Kamarakotos do use a half-open checked woven plaiting (which, as will be understood by reference to the illustrations, Fig. 50 C, produces a weak closed fabric), but only as the inner layer of two-ply baskets and in some dubious examples that can better be classified as wicker weaving. It is never used for the main and independent fabric of a whole basket.

The only other conspicuous gaps in the Kamarakoto basketry repertory — and these may be known to someone in the tribe since they are everywhere relatively rare — are the crossed quadrangular lattices on a paired twilled base and multiple-strand twilled hexagonal lattices. These are complex patterns surely not beyond the skill of a Kamarakoto but with no incentive for

[text continues on p. 186]

*285 their use since they serve no better, in some cases even worse, than the simpler lattices. The Taurepánes do rarely use a crossed quadrangular lattice with paired twilled base, but the hexagonal pattern with multiple-strand twilled base occurs among no close allies of the Kamarakotos and is exceedingly rare. I know of only two recorded examples, one reported by de Goeje (1906, Pl. IX, Fig. 12) from Dutch Guiana and one recorded by Roth (1924, Fig. 188) found in British Guiana but of unknown tribal origin.

*285 ● 171/ 176 On the other hand the Kamarakotos probably use no basketry techniques that are entirely unknown to other tribes and it is doubtful whether they have originated anything in this field. Indeed it is almost impossible now to point to any tribe that can be said definitely to have originated a basketry technique. The whole complex has spread over the whole region, with some irregularity but without clear regard for tribal or geographic divisions. Some tribes are more skilled than others — the Kamarakotos rank very high but perhaps not at the top in this respect — and each group has some tendency to prefer certain techniques and to reject others more or less similar, so that despite the general diffusion of this basketry culture each local group can be separately characterized in these details. I have identified one Kamarakoto basketry weave that is at least rare if not wholly unknown elsewhere, but it is also rare among the Kamarakotos and it is unlikely that it is really confined to or was definitely originated by this tribe. (Fig. 52 C.)

*285 171 Articles made of basketwork. The following outline classification includes most, but not quite all, of the general classes of basketry objects used in this broad culture area with, of course, more detailed attention to those observed among the Kamarakotos. In cases where such an object of native manufacture was definitely seen in use among the Kamarakotos, its name is given.

I. Mats.
    A. Plain plaited.
        Large door and floor mat---------------kumara-katsa'.
    B. Woven plaited.
        Twilled quadrangular fan or plate--------o. olori.
II. Trays (and sieves).
    A. Circular.
        1. Closework.
            Fine, rail-edged, pictorial twill---------o:apa.
        2. Openwork.
    B. Quadrangular.
        1. Closework.
            a. Edged mat.
            b. Basket tray.
                Basketry and rail-edged, with legs------matu:tu.

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2. Part or all openwork (sieves).

Rail-edged, open twill------------------------pangaiʼ.

III. Sacks and allied forms.

A. Plain plaited.

Deep back-carrying bag---------------------wakawaʼ.

B. Woven plaited.

IV. Baskets, strictly speaking.

A. Hexagonal base.

Closer weave, extra weft strands.

Deep, without worked-in handle------waricha.

Less deep, with spirally wound loop handle-----------------------warakapi.

More open weave, no extra weft strand.

(otherwise like waricha)--------ɛ̨no-saramba.

B. Circular or elliptical base.

1. Radiate foundation.

2. Vertebrate foundation.

Flask-shaped, wicker weave------------------tsimuiʼ.

3. Diaphragm foundation.

4. Unenclosed foundation.[153]

C. Conical base.

D. Rectangular base.

1. Openwork.

2. Closework.

a. Checked.

b. Wicker weave.

c. Twilled woven plaiting (hourglass).

aa. Base equidimensional.

Flask-shaped, rim flaring, not re-enforced------sokoʼ.

Bucket-shaped, rim not flaring, re-enforced-----wapa.

bb. Base elongate.

Chest with cover-------------------------------amaːtu.

V. Presses.

Casave press--------------------------------tangõiʼ.

VI. Back-packs (knapsacks).

A. Openwork bottom-----------------------------------akaiʼ.

B. Closework bottom-----------------------------------koataiʼ.

VII. Quivers.

Blowgun-dart quiver-------------------------mõi-yɛ.

VIII. Fish traps (or creels).

Wrapped lattice trap--------------------------muroiʼ.

[153] [see footnote on p. 325, category 116 - Analyst]

*285 ●171 [128] As regards baskets, this classification is based on that of Roth (1924) with some modification and omission of a few non-Kamarakoto minor subdivisions.

Allied Indians, including the Taurepánes, make a wide variety of mats, trays, and sack- or bag-like baskets by plain plaiting, especially from separated strips of one or two moriche leaves, left attached to the midrib (Fig. 54). Koch-Grünberg illustrates typical Taurepán specimens and Roth illustrates many from British Guiana and gives exhaustive details of their construction. Such basketry, the materials for which are everywhere and require almost no preparation, is very quickly and easily made and can serve almost any purpose to which basketry is put among these tribes (the only important exceptions are presses and sieves), but it is crude, relatively impermanent, and esthetically unsatisfactory and has only speed and ease of manufacture to recommend it. It is the lazy man's basketry and it speaks well for the Kamarakotos that they make almost no use of it. They are, of course, capable of such plaiting and *285 can produce it on order, but they do not like it or ordinarily use it. Aside from large door mats, for which this is the best material and technique, I saw no pieces of plain plaited work actually in use among them and only one, a wakawa', that had been made by them for their use, and this had been abandoned. [178] In marked contrast, the Taurepánes, at least in the vicinity of the [797] mission where native skill seems to be rapidly degenerating, make and use much plain plaited basketry.

The large mats used primarily to close doors at night and secondarily as floor mats and even as sunshades are plaited from two pinnate leaves of palms such as the kunwada. The midribs are laid together to form one edge of the mat and the pinnae are plaited together, usually by single one-over-two twilling, and their small ends braided into an edge for the other side.

The one really native plain plaited Kamarakoto basket seen was a wakawa', which is used in exactly the same way as an akai'. It is made of two split moriche (kwai) leaves, the stems projecting at the upper corners of the back. Back and sides are plaited in one-over-two twill and the ends of the strands braided into loops at the lower corners, then into a lower rim and finally into a median braid up the front (part away from the person carrying), [482] ending freely (see Fig. 55). A back thong is tied to the stems as a head strap.

Turning to more elegant types of basketry, the common mat, o. olori (Fig. 56 C), is made of manare, the commonest basketry fiber, and notwith- [171] standing its simplicity is usually carefully and handsomely made. They are square and are identical with what Roth calls the Akawai fan (indeed he notes that these occur among the Arekunas and are by them also used as mats). They are of closed twilled woven plaiting, constantly one-over-three except at points on the diagonals, edges, and center where variations are required by the pattern. Their peculiarity is that the strands in the two directions are really the same, each strand doubling at the edge and returning into the

*285 pattern at right angles to its former course and with upper and lower sides reversed. The weave forms a pattern of concentric squares, which contrast also in color and smoothness since the skin is left on the manare and successive squares are formed by the smoother, browner outer sides and by the rougher, paler inner sides of the strands. These are used for fanning the fire, for serving food, and for a dozen other purposes for which small mats are useful. The Kamarakotos do not make fans, like those of the Arawaks and some other Indians, that are definitely fan-shaped or that have handles.

Although simple in form, the o:apa (Fig. 56 B) commonly reaches the highest point of weaving and design shown by these Indians, rivaled in this re-
[438] spect only by the ama:tu. First-class o:apa are so difficult to weave that not
[439] all weavers are equal to this and they are common items of trade both within the tribe and with neighboring tribes. Some of the best o:apa in use by the Kamarakotos were made by Maquiritares but they are also made by Kamarakotos in essentially identical style and the following comments apply to the Ka-
[126] marakoto work. I was unable to obtain one of the highly prized Kamarakoto specimens and the one that I illustrate was said to be of Mayongón (Maquiritare)
● [171] origin, but it perfectly illustrates the Kamarakoto technique also. Indeed Roth has shown that identically similar trays are made by Arawaks, Wapishanas, Warraus, Akawais, Makuchis, Tarumas, and others.

The tray is woven as a flat, square mat with two different sets of strands (not a single set doubled over as in the o. olori) of which one is colored brown or black on what is to be the upper side in order to increase the pattern contrast. The fiber is manare in finer strands than those usually used and the fabric is a pictorial twilled woven plaiting, the formula varied in accordance with the design but mainly one-over-two or one-over-three. The completed mat is cut into circular form and then edged and shaped so as to be definitely concave. The edging consists of a separate piece of all-over one-over-two or one-over-three twilled woven plaiting made in a seamless circle of the size required, doubled over the edge of the main mat and re-enforced by two opposite vine hoops, one outside and one inside the finished tray, bound into place by loops of curagua twine sewed through the fabric of the mat and edging.

These trays are not very specialized in use. Casave is served on them and they are also used for drying cotton or other things, for temporary storage, etc.[154]

The Kamarakotos do not make circular open-ware trays, as some Arawaks do, nor do they make square trays of edged-mat type such as occur among the Makuchis and numerous more distantly related tribes.

The matu:tu (Figs. 57-58), is a tray highly specialized in form, although less so in function. The bottom is a square, flat mat woven like the bottom of an o:apa (but left square) and not like an o:olori. In rimming and edging this is shaped so as to be somewhat concave, but less so than the o:apa.

[154] [see footnote on p. 325, category 116 - Analyst]

*285 Around it is woven a vertical rim, extending both above and below, which is made of the same material (manare) but may be considered as true weaving rather than woven plaiting. The bottom strands that reach a given edge at right angles become the weft strands of the rim. They are taken two at a time, making a two-ply weft, and are woven upward across two (sometimes three) warp strands (ordinary manare, not heavier rails as in some allied trays) and doubled around a third (or fourth) whence they return next to their former course, closing the fabric as far as the weft is concerned (although the warp strands are spread apart). Past the join with the bottom of the tray, they continue downward across two warp strands, double on a third, return in adjacent courses, and are cut off near the join.

Upper and lower edges are bound with heavy pieces of split cane, inside and outside, lashed on with wadapi. In addition to this the upper edge is more smoothly and elegantly finished by placing a slender stick spirally wrapped with wadapi above the edge of the basketry between the split reeds and lashing it on at the same time. A brace of wadapi, specially wrapped with the same strand, is now attached across each corner at the upper rim and a short vertical stick, notched for the corner of the basketry, is lashed outside each corner, forming legs and making what some students have (rather confusingly) called a table. Some tribes are said to use these trays without legs, and obviously they would function without this addition, but I saw no completed Kamarakoto square trays without legs.

● [171] [184] Since essentially similar trays are known from British Guiana, it would be supposed that the Taurepánes would make them also, and so they may, but in fact I have found no mention or description of them among the Taurepánes and my Taurepán informants did not know either the object or any basketry name similar to matu:tu. This probable absence and certain rarity among the Taurepánes of what is technically one of the most complex Kamarakoto basketry forms tends to confirm my opinion that the Kamarakotos are probably somewhat superior to the Taurepánes in this art.

The uses of this tray are essentially the same as those of the ceapa but its being raised from the ground and stable makes it more suitable for many purposes, such as drying cotton.

[171] The casave sifter, pangai' (Fig. 56A), is an example of specialized basketwork that serves only one purpose. Every household requires at least one and it is so essential in the preparation of casave that it occurs among all casave-eating Indians with numerous variations in weave but very little in basic pattern.

In the common Kamarakoto form the bottom or main surface, woven flat, is an elongate rectangle of open twilled woven plaiting. It is divided into four quadrants by intersecting lines of half-closed three-strand twill. Each quadrant has an all-over pattern, generally one-over-two, but this method of joining

[text continues on p. 191]

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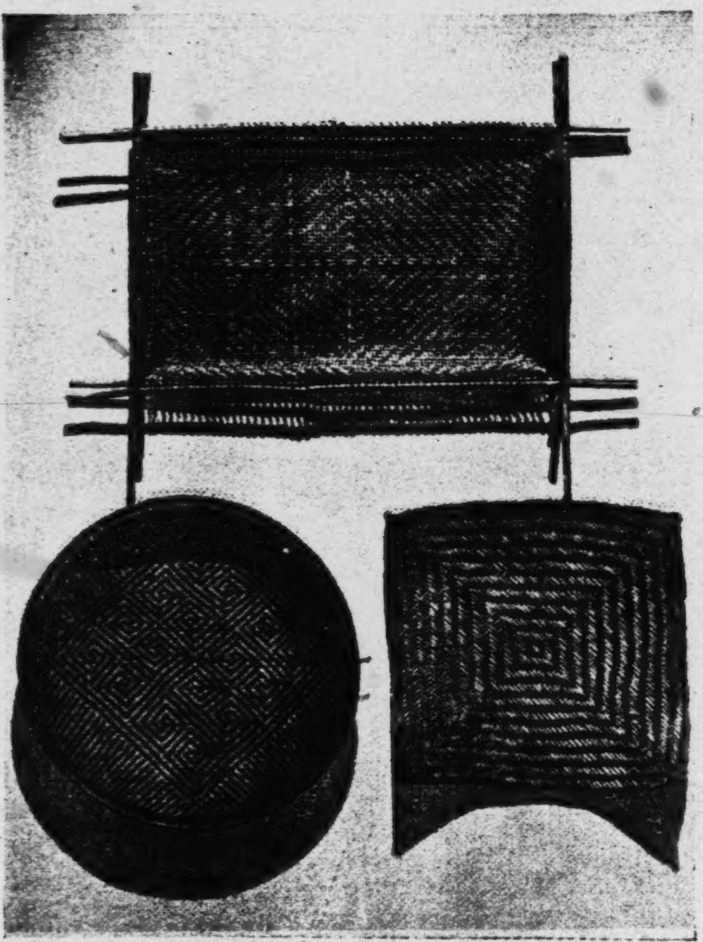

Fig. 56 — Guayana Indian Basketware.
A and C are Kamarakoto, B Maquiritare (Maiongon), in use among Kamarakotos and almost identical with some made by them. A, casave sifter, pangai'. B, o:apa. C, o.olori.

*285 them makes their bands produce a concentric square pattern on the fabric as a whole which, however, is very inconspicuous.

The rim re-enforcement is formed by two rails, one on each side, projecting well beyond the corners where they overlap as in a rail fence. At a given edge the basketry strands that are there at right angles to that edge are gathered in groups of two and each two-ply strand passes up inside the rails, circles completely around the top rail, is then passed over itself between the rails and looped back to the outer side, passes around this side of the lower rail, and is then woven obliquely into these same fibers where they depart from the sifting fabric, so as to form an obliquely twilled close-work border all around the bottom of the sieve. This edging technique is essentially constant and is seen on no other basketware.[155] The details of the bottom weave vary slightly.

The Kamarakotos do not, like the Makuchis, make sieves with basket- ● [171] work rims rising above the rails. In Santa Elena the Franciscan Sisters kindly gave us a casave sieve of Taurepán manufacture which has most of the bottom of closework with a small central quadrangle of complicated lattice (woven in four directions with a twilled two-ply quadrangular base) and Roth illustrates somewhat similar Wapishana (and Makuchi ?) sieves. Certainly these are native work and made with native techniques, but I am doubtful whether they are made for the Indians' own use. They are not the common sifters in these tribes and they are more adopted for display than for use, their sifting area being small and its mesh large.

Some Indians, including some Arekunas, make purses of woven plaited basketry but the Kamarakotos have abandoned these in favor of the somewhat less esthetic but decidedly more practical thread-textile purse of the same form (pakara, a word also applied to the basketwork purses).

The waricha (Figs. 59 C, D, F) is perhaps the commonest Kamarakoto bas- [422] ket. A family may have a dozen or more of somewhat different sizes. These roughly bucket- (or rarely vase-) shaped baskets are used for the storage and transportation of any small objects. They always have hexagonal bases and side, as well as bottom, is of hexagonal lattice with at least one extra strand, horizontal on the sides. Roth distinguishes varieties with the horizontal side strands spiral (one or two continuous strands) and those in which they are circular (each a separate strand), but the Kamarakotos and their closer allies make only the former variety. Two varieties, not given separate names, can be distinguished, however, by the way in which the horizontal strands of the sides are worked in.

In both the horizontal strands on the sides consist of two separate strands both working around repeatedly, one above the other, in a spiral until the rim is reached. In both one of these strands is an oblique strand on the side which runs to a corner of the base and along one of its six sides but which then, instead of turning up and becoming an oblique strand on the side in the opposite

[155] [see footnote on p.325, category 11b - Analyst]

*285 then straight across the base, then obliquely up the other side, on the oblique opposite to that of its descent. The side weave has the same general character in both but that of the second type is much closer as it has, relatively, twice as many oblique strands.

At the rim the ends of the oblique side strands are gathered into pairs, one from each direction, looped over a split-cane hoop, and their tips woven back obliquely (all in the same direction) into the parts of themselves just below the hoop. In some cases no further edging is provided, but usually another split-cane ring is placed outside the rim and one inside and the whole re-enforced edging then bound together by spiral wrapping, or sometimes sewed and tied with curagua twine. No handle is provided as an integral part of the basket but a simple loop handle, usually a piece of fibrous bark, is commonly added at one side.

The sides of these baskets are usually cylindrical, but they may be slightly or rarely strongly constricted below the rim, making them more flask-shaped (Fig. 59 C).

[127] No single element in their design or technique is unique, but baskets exactly like these seem to be practically confined to the Makuchis and Arekunas and they are very characteristic of the so-called Roroima Carib tribes. They have taken the place of some circular or oval based baskets and of all the open-work rectangular based baskets of other tribes (Roth describes and figures many of these), which are quite unknown to the Kamarakotos and at least rare among the Roroima tribes in general.

The Kamarakoto warakapi (Fig. 59 E) is constructed exactly like a waricha (only the variety with spiral strand in the base was seen) but is relatively greater in diameter and much less in depth and usually has a permanent handle. This is a loop of spirally wrapped wadapi across the middle of the rim.

Another basket, the ɛno-saramba, differs from the waricha only in being without any extra strands, leaving the weave a plain, widely open hexagonal lattice. It may be used like a waricha, but is not as good for similar purposes, and the special reason for its construction is to use as a bird cage. A stick is pushed through the mesh and the rim is squeezed together and tied, for which purpose it is left more flexible than in the waricha.

The only circular or elliptical based basket made or used by the Kamarakotos, which is also the only one that is woven rather than woven plaited throughout, is the tsimui' (Fig. 67), the small, inflexible basket that is attached to a dart quiver and used to carry a supply of kapok for putting the basal wadding on
[128] the darts. Unfortunately my data on these are imperfect. Both radiate foundation and vertebrate foundation types are in use, but these are often obtained by trade and I am uncertain what type is woven by the Kamarakotos themselves, or whether both or neither are. Because of this uncertainty I do not give a de-
[114] tailed description. For the distinctive characters of both types, reference may be made to Roth (1924).

[text continues on p. 194]

*285 wadapi as in the best matu:tu, with a small spirally wound wadapi loop on each side of the rim to which a carrying cord can be attached.

The ama:tu (Figs. 62, 63) is with some reason the most prized of all baskets. It is made in all sizes from small ones that can rest on the palm of one hand and are the native "jewel cases" to big ones nearly half a meter in length that are the native "wardrobes," "coffers," or "satchels." It is almost always composed of two essentially similar and separate baskets, one slightly larger and slipping over the other as a cover. Each of these, in turn, is really two baskets, one permanently fixed inside the other as a lining. Finally a layer of flat leaves is frequently, but not always, placed between these two as an interlining. When thus prepared, such a basket is waterproof.[156]

The base of the outer layer (of course either of the basket, proper, or its cover) is made like that of a soko' or wapa except that it has a row of hourglasses in the center and is elongate, not square. The sides are of pictorial twill like those of a wapa, generally on a grander scale. The lining is more simply and weakly woven in a plain, half-open checked pattern (see Fig. 63). The lining is simply cut off at the rim and the outer fabric is finished more or less as in the soko' but with the turned-over strands not woven back far enough to show after the split reed edging re-enforcement is applied.

● [171] Baskets of similar form and use are made all over this culture area, varying in technique from crude one-ply checked or wicker work to two- (or with the leaves three-) ply baskets of the finest sort, such as the Kamarakotos make and use. Here again it is seen that the type made by these Indians is that most advanced technically and esthetically.

*285 252 171 Turning to special purpose objects that are made of basketry but cannot properly be called baskets, the casave press is perhaps the most essential. These are, necessarily, universal among the casave-eating Indians, and also in civilized communities where casave is prepared, so that they are already very familiar and no lengthy description is needed. A few tribes still use relatively primitive presses, but the Kamarakotos and all their allies and neighbors have the most advanced (now, indeed, nearly ubiquitous) type, called "sebucán" in Venezuela and "matapi" in British Guiana. It only needs to be added that the form of the Kamarakoto sebucán, tangöi' (Fig. 64), is that of Roth's (1929) "Taruma and Waiwai" type, that is without shoulder or hip girdle, but without the special Waiwai weave, the neck being of one-over-two twill and the body of two-over-three twill, plaits similar to those in the Arawak type which, however, differs markedly in details of form.

*285 482 The woman's back-pack or knapsack[157] is called akai' (Fig. 65 B) if the bottom is of openwork and koatai' (Figs. 65 A, 66) if it is closework, a distinction that has no bearing on either form or function of the back-pack as a whole but is apparently considered essential by the makers. The basketwork consists of a flat, elongate, rectangular bottom or back piece surrounded on the two

156, 157 [see footnotes on pp. 325-26, category 116 - Analyst]

*285 531 colored parts of the pattern comprise parallel elements. In some cases, however, including the *wapa* and many (but not all) of the strands of an *ama:tu*, strands that belong to one set on the base turn at its rim in such a way that in part of side (spreading upward from each corner) strands that were all parallel on the base form the two interplaited sets on the side. This would make the use of pre-colored strands all running in one direction in the base impossible. The difficulty is cleverly met, as may be seen by close examination of the figures of the bases of these baskets, by coloring only half of each strand, carefully weaving so that the change in color on a given strand is at the diagonal of the base, and so that the colored fibers run in opposite directions in adjacent triangular segments of the base. This is done in such a way that on the sides all the colored strands are parallel.

Occasionally single strands of *wadapi*, naturally much darker than *manare*, are woven across a *manare* fabric. This does have a somewhat decorative effect, but it is never used for that reason but only for the functional purpose of anchoring a *wadapi* strand that is to be used for lashing edge re-enforcement.

*285 531 153 ● [171] Typical designs are seen in Figs. 51, 56B, 56C, 57, 59A, 62, 63. The elements of these designs are widespread (Roth shows examples of virtually all of them from British Guiana) and are simply learned by rote and handed on from one generation to the next. A Kamarakoto basket maker knows by this rote memory what exact formula for twilling will produce a picture of a frog, but he is unable to make a satisfactory or artistic picture of a frog in any other medium and I suspect, although I have not tried this out and cannot be positive, that he would in most or all cases be unable to produce in basketwork a picture for the elements of which he did not already know the twilling formula. In the combination of these elements into the more complex patterns, however, he shows considerable ingenuity and variety, to such an extent that except for the simplest geometrical patterns he seldom produces two designs that are exactly alike.

Exactly the same sort of rote knowledge of elements of designs with originality in combining these elements is shown by the women in weaving their bead aprons.

531 532 [461] This is a convenient place for mention of Kamarakoto graphic skill in general. It is very poor. Few Indians, at least in South America, surpass them in the more mechanical elements of technique and they have a genuine esthetic pleasure in work, such as basketry, that is well done, but there does not appear now to be among the members of the tribe any tradition of art or design on a purely esthetic basis or any individual who is an artist in any sense not included in the word artisan. They have learned and take delight in graphic design that is integral in the process of manufacture, but seem almost completely devoid of any idea of embellishing an article of which this is not true. For instance, I did not see any of their various wooden objects, troughs, benches, etc., on

534 Duct flutes

With deflector (and stops) 7. End-blown flute, plug-flute, or flageolet.

[114] In Roth's earlier and less scientific classification these various instruments would appear as:

I. Wind . . . . 4. Wooden trumpet.
5. Horn trumpet.
6. Flute.
7. Flageolet.
II. Reed (not observed)
III. String (not used)
IV. Percussion . . . . 1. Seed pods.
2. Rattles.
3. Skin drum.
V. Friction (not observed)

[114] Von Hornbostel's classification (in Koch-Grünberg) is essentially like that of Izikowitz but less detailed.

1. The numerous necklaces and arm or leg-bands to which are attached
jingling objects are in effect jingle-rattles. Some of these are often worn in
[539] everyday life without definitely musical intention. Jingling arm and leg-bands
are, however, sometimes especially donned for dancing and then may be classed
[824] as true musical instruments. Those seen were all of hard seed pods or small
[237] fruit shells. Quite possibly hoof, bone, and beetle-wing jingle rattles, wide-
spread in this part of the world, are also known but they must be relatively rare.

2. The Kamarakoto rattle is the well-known maraka (or "maraca"), a
gourd rattle with a short wooden handle by which it is shaken. The handle
passes entirely through the hard, hollow gourd, in which seeds or pebbles pro-
● [171] vide the sounding agency. Nordenskiöld and Izikowitz have shown how wide-
spread such rattles are and the latter concludes that they have been diffused
from a Central American focus, not, as has been claimed, exclusively or par-
ticularly by the Arawaks although, among other ethnic groups, these Indians
[192] had a part in its spread. The Kamarakotos use the word maraka for it, an in-
ternational word that has spread perhaps through the Tupi "lingoa geral" into
[171] many, but not all, Carib and Arawak dialects. As is well known this instrument
and the name "maraca" for it have been adopted in the Spanish-American cul-
ture of northern South America and the West Indies and with the recent popu-
larity of the music of this region (especially Cuba) have become known to
virtually the whole civilized world. The Kamarakotos' use of the instrument
may confidently be considered aboriginal, as (collaterally) the source and not
a derivative of the Venezuelan (Cuban, etc.) maraca. They use the rattle for

They use the rattle for
534 dancing, but a legend suggests its connection with magic, a connection which
535 Izikowitz believes to have been involved in the spread of this instrument. In
773 this legend a maraka appears as a magical instrument the sounding of which
224 causes peccaries, the favorite prey of hunters, to appear. In fact the use of the
rattle in dancing is probably connected with this sort of hunting magic, although
the connection is not now clearly recognized by the Indians.

534 3. The Kamarakotos make drums (Fig. 68) of various sizes but all are constructed in the same way and all are light and portable so that the player can carry one and dance at the same time. The kettledrum and the tubular (open bottom) drum are unknown, only the two-headed form being used. The body is made of a section of a tree trunk (a white, soft, unidentified wood) of appropriate diameter, with the center hollowed out. A single round hole is
[237] made in the side as an air vent. The drumheads are made of hide, deer, lapa, peccary, etc., — a specimen has deerskin on one end and peccary on the other and apparently any hide of proper size is used indiscriminately. The hair-side is out on the finished drum but the hair is removed from the exposed surface.
[289] The skin is lashed by spiral curagua windings to a liana hoop of proper size to fit snugly on the drum body onto which it is slipped. It is held in place and the drumhead stretched by placing a second hoop distal to it (nearer the end of the drum) on each end and these tightening hoops, which are not fastened to the drumhead or body, are drawn toward each other by a crisscross lashing of heavy cords. Where these cross, at the middle of the side of the drum, a circular lashing of the same cord is fastened and from this a carrying cord projects, which may be made into a loop by tying its end to one of the lashings. The drum is carried in one arm and played with a single stick held in the other hand.

114 The origin and distribution of drums in South America have given rise
● 171 to extensive discussion, most of which is adequately summarized by Izikowitz.
174 The pre-Columbian distribution cannot now be exactly reconstructed except
534 that it was certainly wide. The kettledrum is the oldest and from it an open-bottomed drum developed in Mexico and Central America. It was formerly supposed that two-headed drums were all post-Columbian but Izikowitz has shown that such drums are indigenous at least in Peru and adjacent regions. On the other hand Izikowitz agrees with most previous students in concluding that the drum was unknown in northeastern South America (Amazonia, the Guianas, Venezuela, and the West Indies, at least) until introduced by Europeans. Only a few students have ventured a contrary opinion, for example, Williams says of the Makuchi word sanbura, "This may perhaps be a native word as the drum must have existed before the advent of Europeans." Roth has pointed out apparently conclusive evidence that the first Europeans, including Columbus himself, found single-membrane drums in use in the West Indies, evidence apparently overlooked by Izikowitz. A few early travelers in the Guianas and in Amazonia also mention what seem to be one-membrane drums

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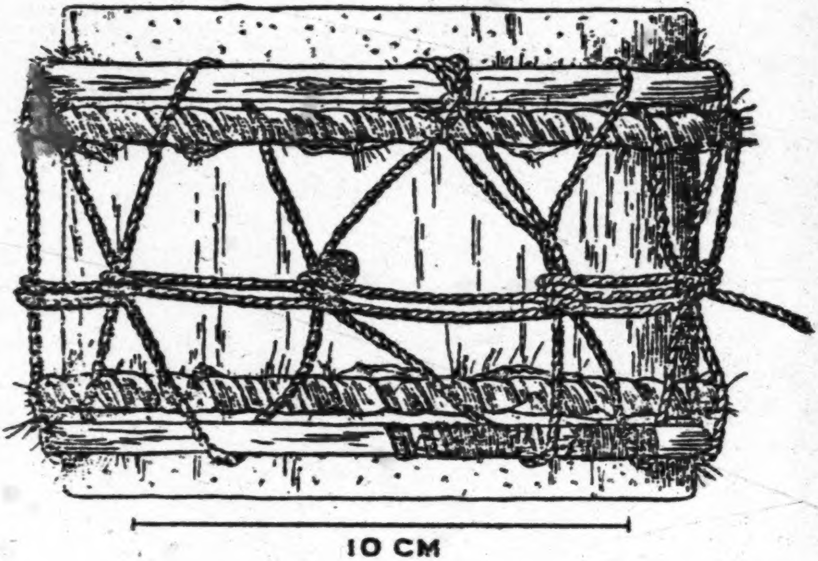

[535] Fig. 68 — Kamarakoto Drum.
A small hand drum such as is carried by the drummer in a parichara dance. Drums up to twice this size or rather more are made in essentially the same way.

114 (see Roth) but these observations are too recent to exclude indirect European
171 influence, improbable as this is for drums of such a typically American sort.
174 Roth concludes that the double-membrane drum was probably not European but
534 introduced from North America (i.e. inferentially from the North American Indians) but after the European invasion, a conclusion that has not been accepted and that is not very seriously supported by any cogent evidence.

The evidence that the drum is not indigenous in this area is chiefly that it shows almost unmistakable European influence in the usual method of lashing and that over this whole area, regardless of linguistic stocks, it is called by names which, despite Williams' doubts, are almost certainly derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, of which the Kamarakoto word sambura is typical.

This evidence proves that the drums of this region show some, perhaps only indirect, European influence. They do not prove that the drums are of European origin or that they are not derived by post-Columbian evolution from an indigenous drum. Izikowitz, himself, concludes that the essentially similar drums of the Chipayas (southwestern Bolivia) are modified derivatives of pre-Columbian drums and he also notes the difficulty of being sure that a European

1[illegible] type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
● 171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warnings
174 when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until
European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable,
that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because
it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto
drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality,
even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the *parichara* dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called *kamai*. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed,
of *Cecropia* (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan
Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying
the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing.
There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and [illegible] *kamai* produces a
single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the
different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship
or harmony between the different pitches of *kamai* blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately
decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto
examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete
absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture.
There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among
the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos
have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of
curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
[439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and
the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity,
probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South
America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the
Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz
says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in
general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

The
534 199 Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet
202 along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish
[535] word "cacho" (kacho).

534 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute,
● 171 called naunan. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the
Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepánes (von
[128] Hombostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no naunau
was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make
one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto
instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a plug flute
[824] (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic
name for this is lue (or rue — whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana),
from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageo-
[237] let, is called kaikara.[163] The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leaving only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning. The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop. This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike
that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike
any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears.
[535] It is used in some dances, notably the tukũi' (not the parichara), and, unlike
[533] any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for
simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty snatches of melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are es-
171 pecially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of
plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified under European influence and others which are native copies of old European models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instruments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of similar culture:

163 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

534
171 Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taurepánes and Makuchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Makuchis, but probably not among Arekunas.

Humming top — Known among Taurepánes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

- Hollow log drum
- Metal jingle rattles and bells
- Kettledrum
- Tubular drum
- Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"
- Bullroarer
- Shell trumpet
- Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.
- Complex trumpets
- Clarinets[164]
- Globular flutes
- Notched flutes (quenas)
- Flutes with attached ducts
- Panpipes[165]

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177
174 With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

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[361]
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[437] Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

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501 These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analyst]

484 501 distances along or parallel to navigable streams rather than using canoes although
these were available. All the inhabited places, as well as those frequented
487 for any other purpose, are linked by well defined trails which are as
permanent and as well known to the natives as our highways are to us. There
are also long trails, their "through highways" or "interstate thoroughfares,"
that connect with the regions of other tribal groups, for instance to the Gran
Sabana and to the Maquiritares country.

In the sabanas these trails are self-made and are marked by absence of
vegetation along the narrow track, which has a bare and usually hard and perfectly
smooth bottom and soon becomes sunk a few centimeters below the level
[481] of the surrounding soil. They are very narrow. Even a main trail may be only
fifteen or twenty centimeters wide, because the Indians always walk in single
file and place one foot exactly in front of the other, so that the width of the
trail is little more than the width of the foot. So ingrained is this habit that
484 even when walking only a few meters two Indians never walk side by side. On
521 the march they frequently carry on animated conversations with each other without
turning their heads or appearing to address each other, a habit carried over
to some extent into other circumstances so that it is rather uncommon for them
deliberately to face each other for conversational purposes — a habit striking
and sometimes disconcerting to the civilized visitor.

487 Trails through forest are equally visible although commonly floored with
[412] leaves and twigs, which are not purposely removed. Interfering brush and
branches are lopped off with machetes, leaving a passage where it is always
possible to walk upright.

484 Swamps that cannot easily be avoided are crossed with the aid of bridges
491 (Figs. 69, 70) or commonly on a chain of large moriche palm (kwai-yɛ̃)
499 trunks. These trees are abundant in swampy situations and commonly a complete
[824] causeway can be made simply by felling them in the desired direction,
so that the head of one falls near the stump of the next. The heavy trunks are
not transported for this purpose. Gaps are filled in with smaller, readily carried
logs and sticks or with the heavy bases of moriche leaves and the latter may be
used alone for traversing short stretches of boggy ground without open water.

Streams may simply be forded if the bottom is hard and (as is true of all the streams of the central area) there are no dangerous fishes or reptiles, but even under these circumstances much traveled trails usually have bridges over small streams, up to five meters or so in width, and these are almost always provided if the bottom is of deep mud. The simplest and commonest bridge is simply a tree trunk, or frequently two laid parallel. Sometimes a small pole is lashed at the ends to standing trees on the two banks, or put in crotches of
484 these, to serve as a handrail. Nordenskiöld (1930, Appendix 4) has given some
491 interesting comments on South American Indian bridges and a distribution map,
171 in connection with which it is notable that I observed no liana bridges and no

484 491 171 use of handrails at fords (without a log bridge). Having canoes, the Kamarakotos do not require long bridges and they belong to the northeastern pole-bridge area of Nordenskiöld's map, liana bridges especially typifying northwestern South America, where navigation is less commonly understood, while complex cantilever bridges are confined to the central Andes.

499 Occasionally more complex, well supported, but still typically pole bridges are built, like that shown in Fig. 70, with the foot poles, always two in such more elaborate structures, laid on transverse supports which are fixed in place by piles. This particular bridge illustrates all three methods of support on piles. At one end the transverse element is simply wedged between plain piles and the rising bank. At the other end this piece is laid in notches in the tops of the piles. In the middle it is most firmly held, on steps in three piles, two on one side and one, in the middle, on the other, so that motion downward or in a horizontal plane is quite impossible. The elements are not lashed together, the foot poles being sufficiently secured by the bedding of the ends in the soft earth of the stream banks and at one end by a simple transverse piece that keeps them from sliding longitudinally into the bank. I did not see or hear of any lashed bridges, longer than a single pole, such as Koch-Grünberg reports for the Taurepánes (1923, Vol. III, Fig. 6).

501 484 Streams too large to bridge conveniently with poles or felled trees are forded or swum if need be, but preferably crossed by canoe. The use of the canoe for longitudinal carrying is not unknown, but its usual function in this [487] area is simply as a ferry. For instance, at Uruyén, where the main trail up and down the Kamarata valley crosses the Aichá, a canoe is kept as a ferry and seldom used for any other purpose, although the stream is fordable.

501 [184] The Taurepánes and some other Arekunas use bark canoes, the so-called woodskins (see Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Vol. III, Fig. 5; Roth, 1924, pp. 615-617). The Kamarakotos are well within the northern part of the distribution of woodskins (see Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 22) and they are aware of these vessels, but none appear now to be in use at least in the central group, where canoes are, in any case, rare and a luxury rather than a necessity. The few canoes now in use here are dugouts, simple but graceful in form, see Figs. 71, 72, of a single piece of wood except for the transverse braces or stretchers which also serve as seats. The ends are tapered and turn up, not closed by a separate piece of wood as in some Makuchi dugouts (Roth 1924, Plate 178A and B). [192] Kamarakotos call embarkations in general *kan. wa* (or *kanhwa*, i.e. canoe) and this particular sort of dugout *kuryara*, showing the Carib root whence come the Spanish "curiara" and English "corial," but as their canoes are corials, the two words are essentially synonymous for them. They more often use the word [824] *kuryara*. The favorite wood is *waidawan-yɛ́ʔ*, probably a species of *Nectandra*. [171] Roth notes that this (or a closely related) tree is also considered by the Arawaks to be best for dugouts.

[Text continues on p. 212]

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[322]
[439]
[824]
The Kamarakoto paddle is skillfully carved from a single piece of wood and is much valued, as is shown by the fact that they have traded paddles from as far away as the Brazilian border. The accompanying figure (Fig. 71 B) is of a Kamarakoto-made paddle of poretade (poreta-yɛˀʔ) a wood that I was unable to identify. It has a crescentic handle and an elongate oval blade, widest near 501 the distal end. Nordenskiöld (1924, Map 23) has mapped types of South Ameri- ●171 can paddles and the Kamarakoto paddle is generally similar to those that he shows in this general region although not identical with any known to him and, by coincidence, rather near one he shows well south of the Amazon (Yuruna, after K. v. d. Steinen). It is, however, nearly identical with the Taurepán paddle (Koch-Grünberg 1923, Vol. III, Pl. 40, Fig. 5), not known to Nor- [114] denskiöld. Roth's data, also published too late for inclusion in Nordenskiöld's map (1924, Fig. 337) show that paddle forms do indeed have a characteristic tribal distribution but that the broader geographic distribution is by no means as clear as Nordenskiöld's map suggests. Types that appear on this map to characterize such widely separate areas as the extreme southern and southeastern Amazon Basin, the central Amazon Basin, and the Orinoco Delta, all occur, in fact, within the limited region from the British Guiana Coast to the upper Orinoco, but not in the same tribe. The Arekuna paddle is a recognizable and distinct form, but the scanty data do not yet show any differentiation within the local tribal groups of Arekunas.

Rafts are not used, unless occasionally and extemporaneously. They are mainly western in South America, although Nordenskiöld was not correct in supposing them absent in the Guianas. Gumilla and Humboldt long since described their use on the Orinoco as did Crévaux in French Guiana, but of course it is true that the canoe is the typical means of water transport in this whole region.

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Since most transportation is overland and since beasts of burden are unknown (the only possibility, the dog, is never so used), carrying is done entirely in back-packs.[166] Women carry with the elaborate basketry akaiʔ and koataiʔ (see "Basketry," above), very seldom used by the men, an apparent distinction from Taurepánes and other allied tribes in which this type of back-pack is frequently, or even principally, used by men. The Kamarakoto man's back-pack (Fig. 73) is peculiar among allied Indians in its simplicity and absence of a retaining rim at the sides or bottom. It is simply a section of tough liana made into a closed loop with carrying straps attached at the sides and crude netting of bark or twine across the frame. The load, which may be quite as heavy and bulky as that carried by a woman in an akai, is tied to this frame, where it is sustained only by its own lashing. Such a pack seems inconvenient but it was invariably preferred by the men even when an apparently much more suitable akaiʔ (or koataiʔ) was at hand.

Such frames are usually carried by a loop over each arm at the shoulder. The akaiʔ and koataiʔ may be so carried, but usually are mainly or wholly supported by a head-strap. The use of a chest-strap is unusual.[167]

166, 167 [see footnotes on p. 327, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 213]

[p.214]

SOCIAL CULTURE

Organization

648 [131] The country of the Kamarakotos is in the State of Bolívar, District Piar, of which the capital is Upata. No one disputes these attributions or the territorial and civil authority of the corresponding Venezuelan officials, the Indians themselves being agreeably submissive to Venezuelan authority as far as they
148 are aware of it. In fact, however, no effort has ever been made to extend
643 Venezuelan law or customs to them, no governmental agency is regularly in contact with them, and there are no local officials beyond the fact that Alejo
[178] Calcaño's de facto authority in the tribe is officially recognized. Since he was regularly made tribal chief, or cacique, by the Indians themselves, this flavor of legality does not alter the fact that the Indian tribal organization, such as it is, is intact and that they are still living in a state of virtually complete independence with no reference to any laws or customs but their own.

571 The social organization among most of the Indians of this broad region
● 171 is very loose, with few formal offices or ceremonies. The Caribs in general
178 seem seldom to have had any very elaborate or rigid form of government and the great simplicity of the society of those of this region may be correlated with their living in small, rather isolated family groups and with the lack of necessity, in recent years, for uniting and organizing for any important cooperative undertaking, such as war.

592 The social unit is the family group, consisting of all the persons living
621 at one place. This may include more than one married man with his family and if so the two or more natural families that fall into the single Kamarakoto social family unit are frequently but not necessarily related. For instance, at Uruyén there are two adult males with families, one of whom is married to the sister of the other. They live in different houses but constitute, in the Kamarakoto sense, a single family group. Quite unrelated persons may, with

643 631 The extent of this authority, such as it is, is most ill-defined. It does not clearly and definitely extend beyond the central group of the Kamarakotos and even here many of the Indians never have practical occasion to recognize it, although none would deny it. The Kamarakotos and Kamarakoto-like Indians of the Caroní and other more remote parts are aware of the cacique only when they have occasion to visit the central group. They appear to have no cacique of their own and those that did visit the central group during our stay verbally recognized the authority of this cacique. He submits that his authority does extend widely into this outer region (with which he himself was almost entirely unacquainted until our visit) but in fact his power there is not even nominal. Even in this extremely attenuated way, it is completely false to speak of him as in authority over all the Arekunas, including those of the Gran Sabana and the Taurepánes, although this was claimed for him. The Arekunas as a whole do not have any one chief, and many of them acknowledge no authority [619] outside their own settlements. It would be improper to speak of an Arekuna tribe, since the Arekunas are not an integrated unit, either ethnically or politically, but an agglomeration of small, physically and culturally related but quite distant groups.

562 622 643 171 Schomburgk speaks of (uncommon) cases of female chiefs among the Makuchi. Among the Kamarakotos no woman is ever a chief, either over a household or over a larger group, although otherwise women are by no means treated as inferior beings.

Relationship Concepts

602 601 114 As with many primitive peoples, concepts of family relationships in Kamarakoto are more complex than in nations of European origin, are more specific, and rest on a different basis. Most vocabularies, including even the unusually fine Taurepán vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, give an imperfect idea of these relationships. This is usually because the investigator tends to seek the Indian equivalents of the words of his own language, a system adequate for obtaining names of objects and for many other purposes but quite inadequate when, as with relationships, the concepts expressed in the two languages are [128] far from being the same. The following carefully checked information was obtained in several different interviews by postulating many different sorts of family groups and asking what each individual in the group would call each other [128] individually. This is a field in which an outside investigator could probably never achieve absolutely complete knowledge, at least not without many years of actual membership in the tribe, but the following account is believed to be nearly complete and essentially correct. Comparisons are made chiefly with

P M 602 601 114 [171]

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Comparisons are made chiefly with Williams' Makuchi vocabulary. The Makuchi system appears to be like that of the Kamarakotos and Williams evidently understands it.

P M 601 171

Sibs (brothers and sisters): There is no general word for "brother," or for "sister." The relationship must be more exactly specified than it is by these generalized European concepts, which specify only the sex of the person referred to. In Kamarakoto it is necessary to specify (a) the sex of the person referred to, (b) the sex of the person of reference, and (c) their relative ages. The logical and full system thus involved is as follows:

Sex of person referred to	Sex of person of reference	Relative age of person referred to	Kamarakoto word	Makuchi word (Williams)
Male	Male	Older	*rũiko*	*wi*, *rui*
Male	Male	Younger	*(y)akon*	*moyi*, *akon*
Male	Female	Older	*(u)pi uyadetá*	*warathato*, *pipi*
Male	Female	Younger	*pirika*	*pi*
Female	Male	Older	*paruchi uyadetə*	*e-na-ru*, *na-na*, *na-nan*
Female	Male	Younger	*paruchi*	*wə-ri-chi*
Female	Female	Older	*pasi*	*pa-chi*, *tu*
Female	Female	Younger	*akon*	*akon*

In both languages *yakon*, *akon*, has also a more general use to represent a collateral relative of undefined degree and (sometimes) a close friend. Several of these words are also used for relationships, especially those of cousins, which we do not but the Indians do consider to be of the same sort as brother and sisterhood.

It is evident that neither tribe is absolutely logical or complete in its classification. The Kamarakotos do and the Makuchis can apply the same word, *akon*,[168] to a younger sib of the same sex, i.e. to the younger brother of a male and the younger sister of a female. The Kamarakotos, but not the Makuchis, also use essentially one word for brother of a female, *pirika* and *pi* (the essential root of *pirika*), and one for sister of a male, *paruchi*, distinguishing an older brother or sister, if necessary, by *uyadetə*, which means an older person generally. The modified system toward which the Kamarakotos are plainly tending could thus be shown as follows:

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[168] [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 - Analyst]

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Sib of the same sex	Older	Male	- rũiko
		Female	- pasi
	Younger		- akon
Sib of the opposite sex	Brother of a female		- pi(rika)
	Sister of a male		- paruchi

This is a system that specifies whether the parties are of the same sex or not and specifies the sexes of both except in the case of a younger sib of the same sex, but that specifies relative ages only for older sibs of the same sex.

The peculiar psychological orientation or category-formation here is fairly obvious and very interesting.

P [595] Half-sibs are naturally abundant in a polygamous society like this, but the relationship is on the same footing as if both parents were the same and no special terms or concepts are involved.

P M 601 ●171 Parents: In referring to a parent the sex of the person of reference (the child) is not taken into account and, as in European languages, only the sex of the parent is specified. There are, however, two forms of each word, one for direct address, used only in speaking to one's own parent, and the other general, used in speaking about any parent, including one's own.

		Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Direct address	Father	- papai	pa-pa
	Mother	- paikõi[169]	ma-ma
General	Father	- yun	(y)un
	Mother	- san	san

There are no special words for stepparents or for the wife of a father who is not the natural mother of the child concerned — these relationships are considered as if they involved natural parenthood.

Children: In referring to children the sex of both parties is specified, that is, relationship of a parent to a male child is specified as different from that to a female child, more or less as in European languages, and, unlike European languages, relationship of a father to a child is also specified as distinct from that of a mother. Of course, the question of relative age does not arise here.

169 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 - Analyst]

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Sex of parent, (referred to, or the speaker).	Sex of child.	Kamarakoto word.		Makuchi word. (Williams)	
Male	Male	mumun ("my son" = umo).		mumu (umu)	mure
Male	Female	(y)entsi		enji	
Female	Male	(u)rmg	(u)rmg	(u)-n-re	(u)-n-re
Female	Female	manon		(not given)	

(u)rmg and its cognate (u)-n-re are both used not only specifically for the son of a mother but also for any child of a mother. Williams gives the Makuchi word manon, obviously the same as the Kamarakoto word, as meaning an unmarried female.

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[597] Adopted children, common in this society, are called narimanga (regardless of sex) but they are normally spoken to and of as if they were natural children.

Grandparents: As with parents, only the sex of the person referred to is taken into account.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams)-
Grandfather	tamo	tamo, tàtamo
Grandmother	noi[3]	no, go-go

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[888] As in most European languages, these words are also used to refer to old and (as a rule) venerated persons.

Grandchildren: In marked distinction from the specificity of most of the relationship system, no account is taken of the sex of either party in referring to a grandchild.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Grandchild	pa	pa

If for some reason sex must be mentioned, it is done as for any person or animal, i.e., by using the words for "male" and "female":

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Grandson	- pa-waraton,	literally	"grandchild-male"
Granddaughter	- pa-wari,	"	"grandchild-female"

Aunt, uncle, parents-in-law: Aunts and uncles may be designated descriptively, e.g. papai-yakon, literally "papa-younger brother," i.e. younger brother of father. In this case, however, the concept is of relationship between the brothers, of whom one is specified, and not really the uncle-nephew relationship. In dealing more directly with this latter relationship, special words are used which depend on the sex of all three parties, that is, of the person of reference (the nephew or niece), of the parent through whom the relationship exists, and of the person referred to (uncle or aunt).

Sex of person referred to	Sex of intermediary	Sex of person of reference	Kamarakoto word	Makuchi word (Williams)	
Male	Male	Male	"father" i.e. papai, yun	inton	papai
Male	Male	Female		(not given)	
Male	Female	Male	mui	tori	
Male	Female	Female	awo	awo	
Female	Male	Male	wani	wan	
Female	Male	Female	wari	awobu	
Female	Female	Male	"mother," i.e. paikõi, san	mamai	
Female	Female	Female			

/E.g. mui means "maternal uncle of a male," wari "paternal aunt of a female," etc./

It is seen that special words are used for mother's brother (maternal uncle) and father's sister (paternal aunt) and that these are different for male and female (nephew and niece), but that for either sex a father's brother is addressed and spoken of as if he were the father, and a mother's sister as if she were the mother. This interesting classification is not merely verbal. In a sense, a paternal uncle is a father and, for instance, if a child's father dies or is away, this uncle takes the place of the father to the child in every respect. (But in Makuchi Williams does give a separate word for man's paternal uncle.)

The relationship between any person and the parents of that person's husband or wife is considered to be of the same degree as that between a person and his or her mother's brothers and father's sisters. Thus:

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		Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Father of husband	- woman's maternal uncle -	awo	(Not given)
Mother of husband	- woman's paternal aunt -	wari	(Not given)
Father of wife	- man's maternal uncle -	mui	tori
Mother of wife	- man's paternal aunt -	wani	wanə

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These words are (in Kamarakoto) those generally used in direct address. In speaking of the person to someone else, it is usual to be more specific and special adjectival phrases for parents-in-law are then usually used:

Father of husband - tamõipuyun (for tamupũi - yun)
Mother of husband - yawoiˀ-pə
Father of wife - nopuyun (for nopũi-yun)
Mother of wife - yawoiˀ-pə

— thus yawoiˀ-pə is "mother-in-law" generally and a father-in-law is called "husband's father" or "wife's father" as the case may be.

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Nephew, niece: As with "aunt" and "uncle" the words used for "nephew" and "niece" involve not only the sex of the person referred to but also of the person through whom the relationship exists, i.e. of a parent of the nephew or niece. It would be expected that the sex of the person of reference, i.e. of the aunt or uncle, would also be involved. According to my informants this is not the case. The sex of person of reference is involved in words for "aunt" and "uncle," complimentary to those for "nephew" and "niece," and it is hinted at in Makuchi, which otherwise is rather close to Kamarakoto in these respects.

		Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Male child of man's brother -	"son," i.e.	mumun	Not given.
" " " woman's " -	"son," i.e.	(u)rmɛ (?)	
Female " " man's " -	"daughter," i.e.	yentsi	
" " " woman's " -	"daughter," i.e.	manon (?)	
Male " " man's sister -		poitoru	Not given, but see below.
" " " woman's " -		poitoru (?)	
Female " " man's " -		patsɛ	pase
" " " woman's " -		patsɛ (?)	amu

Although Williams gives only the words for the daughter of a sister, they show a classification based on the sexes of all three persons involved. A root

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601 evidently cognate with *poitoru* occurs in Makuchi (Williams) *i-(poi-to-rə')-be-*
● 171 *wai*, "serve (?)," which Williams compares with *pai-to*, son-in-law of a male, or any subordinate young man. Whether or not this rather dubious comparison is valid, it is likely that this *poi-to-ra'* is connected with Kamarakoto *poitoru*, which seems otherwise not to have been identified in Makuchi or related languages except in Taurepán where Koch-Grünberg gives *poitole* (= *poitore* or *poitorü*) as "son-in-law" or "nephew" without the essential further specification.

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601 *Cousins:* My Kamarakoto informants disclaimed knowledge of any special words for cousins. Under certain circumstances cousins would be considered as brothers or sisters and so spoken of. For instance a boy or girl calls his or her paternal uncle "father" and if the child lives with or in close association with this male's family he or she will call the uncle's children, actually cousins, "brother" and "sister," using the words appropriate as to relative age.

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601 Of the six words given by Williams as meaning "cousin" in Makuchi,
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171 four seem to be more or less random examples of this same sort of system, e.g. a boy calls his father's brother's son (presumably younger than himself) *mo-yi*, which is Makuchi for "younger brother of a male." *e-ru*, which means "husband's sister" is also defined as a female's mother's brother's daughter. The only special word for "cousin," defined as a male's father's brother's son (for which, however, two other words are also given), given by Williams in Makuchi is *-a-mi-bə*. This word, curiously, is practically identical with that for fifth ("little") toe or finger. It seems very doubtful whether Makuchi, any more than Kamarakoto, really has a special nomenclature for the cousin relationship.

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601 If the sexes of all four persons concerned were considered, a complete
171 system would involve sixteen classes, and if relative ages within each of the two generations were considered, sixty-four terms would be necessary. Needless to say, no Carib language really carries this to its logical extreme.

Husband and wife: No concept of relative age is here involved and the relationship automatically specifies the sex of both when one is mentioned, so the words have the same general limits as in European languages.

		Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Husband	-	*tamupüi*	*ni-yo*, *-nyo*
Wife	-	*nopüi*	*no-bu*, *-pə-san*

Except, possibly, for adjectival differentiation when necessary, no distinction is made between the words applied to the various different wives of one man.

P 601 Other relatives by marriage: In speaking of a son- or daughter-in-law, the sex of the person of reference (father- or mother-in-law) is not considered:

Son-in-law	without a child	- payunu
	with a child	- payun
Daughter-in-law		- patsɛ

payun means the actual and payunu apparently means the potential father of one's grandchild, pa "grandchild" + yun "father."

patsɛ is the same word as for the daughter of one's sister, an equivalence analogous to using the same word for mother-in-law as for paternal aunt.

M 601 P 171 In Makuchi, Williams gives pa-se (cognate with patsɛ) for daughter-in-law, but specifies that it is used by males, and he gives pai-to (related to Makuchi (pai-to-rə, "servant," and not to Kamarakoto payun) for man's son-in-law. He does not give words used by females for a son- or daughter-in-law, although he specifies that the words given are used by males (only ?).

P 601 In speaking of brothers- and sisters-in-law the sexes both of the person of reference and of the person referred to are involved.

Husband's brother	-	pipi
Husband's sister	-	yeruiʼ
Wife's brother	-	(y)etsɛ
Wife's sister	-	parətsi

M [601] P [171] In Makuchi, Williams does not give these words, but he does note that pi, Makuchi word for younger brother of a female, sometimes means husband's brother. The Kamarakotos distinguish the words for woman's brother, pi, pirika, from that for husband's brother, pipi.

On the other hand, the Kamarakoto word for wife's sister, recorded as parətsi, seems to be cognate with that for a man's younger sister, paruchi, and I am not sure that they are not simply pronunciations of the same word by different persons or in different contexts, but I think not.

A man calls any woman whom he knows well but to whom he is not particularly related parətsi, i.e. "sister-in-law." A woman similarly calls male friends pipi, "brother-in-law." There is no analogous word for a man's male or a woman's female friends. yetsɛ and yeruiʼ were specifically stated not to be used in this way, and a man cannot use the word pipi or a woman the word parətsi without ridicule.

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[643] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe into
more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right
to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no
doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not,
in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will
and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or
normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive
peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is
doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and
sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no
means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are marriages
of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement
of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds)
and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members
of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
582 and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way. Marriages with
563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there
was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions,
684 among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
563 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it appears
that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is,
however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one
case been put to death.

589 There are very few unmarried adult females. Among the Indians definitely
848 recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact
[584] not considered particularly discreditable to her or disabling to the child. That
illegitimacy is so uncommon can be ascribed rather to early and almost universal
marriage than to any moral reason.

582 Child-marriage was formerly common among some related tribes (although
● [171] usually not consummated until puberty — another point emphasizing that the
[581] basis of marriage is not exclusively and perhaps not primarily sexual). It apparently
does not now occur among Kamarakotos among whom the girls appear
commonly to marry two or three years after the first onset of puberty.

589 All the older men are married, apparently without exception. Although
595 polygamy is far from universal, it is common enough to make the number of
162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there

462 women do rather more than half of the heavy carrying, but I have already noted that the men are really ready to assist if needed, and the men do considerable work, such as the very laborious basketwork, that might, *a priori*, be believed to be woman's work.

● [171] The general pattern of this division of labor is typically Carib, but the details vary much from tribe to tribe. For instance planting, here done by the man, is commonly woman's work elsewhere and hammocks, here made by women, are often made by men elsewhere.

Legal Concepts

Property.

421 The Indians are not capitalists in that they have no permanent title to real property, no personal command of the means of production, no accumulated or hereditary wealth, and no property right in the labor of others. At the same time they have a very real and lively sense of personal property and in other ways also their society is decidedly not communistic. In general what an individual makes or uses is his. When he ceases to use it, it reverts to the public domain.

423 Thus it could be said that the land, in general, belongs to the tribe in common, or that it belongs to no one, but when a man clears a conuco or builds a house on a portion of land, that land is his. No one has the right to use it (or even to enter it against his wishes) as long as he is in occupation, and its products are exclusively his, free of any obligation to share or divide them. When he leaves it, however, he cannot transfer title to it. It reverts to commons and any comer can occupy it or enjoy its fruits and use. The same is true of structures erected on the land.

592 Such property may be said to belong to the household group or to the
423 *toʔ-esaʔ* as its leader and representative. Another very important special case
226 of such ownership is that of fishing rights. According to custom, which of
course is the equivalent of uncodified law, a household established on or near
a stream owns the fishing rights on that stream from its dwelling downstream as
far as the next habitation. These rights are very rigidly maintained. Even a
fish killed upstream is lost to the killer if it floats below the next household
before being gathered. Of course several or many households do commonly
unite in poisoning a given stretch of water and all share in the results, but this
[685] is only by invitation of the household owning the right to that water. Violation
[221] of these rights is among the most serious offenses known to the Indians, as is
suggested by the fact that the last bloody war, of which they retain vivid but
[224] confused memories, is said to have arisen from such a violation. There seems,
on the other hand, to be no proprietorship of hunting rights.

685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen
objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central
group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is
unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were
also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing
waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence.
Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or
even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, however,
[684] be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been
executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably
674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the
crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly
ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not
be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the
other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex
cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said
to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present
conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true
that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own
region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
487 quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[487] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung
● [171] system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still
flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange
things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles
that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use.
The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is
also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something
that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

[170] [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 - Analyst]

439 Indians. but it is my impression that the trade in them is negligible. All of the things listed in this paragraph are usually obtained from the Maquiritares (Maiongones). who are the chief market of the Kamarakotos for articles of Indian consumption and the chief Indian source of imports.

439 A word of advice to future explorers in this general region may not be
435 amiss here. A few groups of Indians, who have had most contact with traders
●171 and missionaries, know the value of coins (not bank notes) and will accept them,
but most Indians still will not. The most useful articles of trade, because their
value to the Indians is greatest in proportion to their bulk and because it is dif-
ficult to saturate the market, are small articles, such as fishhooks and needles,
[822] and beads. Beads should be small (within reasonable limits a bead's value is
in inverse proportion to its size) and should be mainly or wholly blue and white,
other colors being much less prized. Trade cloth should be bright red. Other colors will be accepted, but only if red is not obtainable. The Indian understanding of the value of such articles is very definite and allows the trader a wide margin of profit but does not permit him to set his own unreasonable price. Various flashy novelties may permit enormous profits because the Indians do not know their commercial value — in British Guiana Roth was offered a cow for two finger rings worth sixteen cents, and every traveler has equal or still more impressive stories to tell — but even if the traveler has no conscience in the matter, he runs the risk of finding no market at all for his novelties.[172]

439 Like all other rational beings, the Kamarakotos, and the Guiana Indians
437 in general, try to buy cheaply and sell dearly and with a long tradition of
trading they are unlikely to be badly worsted in dealing with articles at all
[123] familiar to them. Acting on instructions and on praiseworthy motives but con-
trary to my personal opinion as to wise policy, our party did not bargain with
them and established an excessively high rate for their labor and their products, but this will probably prove to be temporary and future trade should return to a basis more equitable for both sides.

Magic and Religion

721 The activities and beliefs that may be classified as religious in the broadest sense are by far the most difficult to observe and to understand in studying a foreign culture. Even students who have spent years with Carib tribes do not claim full comprehension of their religious beliefs, and it is obvious that my observations can only be superficial. They do, however, suffice to show the general type and trend of such beliefs among the Kamarakotos, despite leaving many details and general problems untouched.

Indian religious systems in general (and, sometimes less clearly, all religions) can be approximately classified as, on one hand, theistic, ritualistic,

[172] [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 – Analyst]

121/ collective, and priestly, and, on the other, as animistic, non-ritualistic, individual, and shamanistic. The former are religious in a more limited sense while the latter are predominantly magical as opposed to strictly religious. A given tribe usually shows a mixture of the two general types, sometimes in a single inseparable system with the same individuals acting as priests and shamans, and sometimes in a dual system with the priestly and shamanistic functions differentiated and delegated to different individuals. The Carib religion 771/ generally and that of the Kamarakotos specifically are almost purely shamanistic. 171/

The Piache.

756 Like most other Caribs, the Kamarakotos have only one sort of mediator with the supernatural and he is technically a shaman, a medicineman, not a priest. I shall call this individual the piache, the common Venezuelan Spanish name, derived from the Carib word which in Kamarakoto is piatsan. There are at least three piaches in the central group of Kamarakotos and there are said to be several more among the more outlying Indians loosely affiliated with this tribe. In their[b] daily lives the piaches are hardly distinguishable from anyone else (see Fig. 75).[1] Their supposed supernatural powers give them no particular additional prestige in civil matters and unlike most Indian priests (as distinct from shamans) they are not powerful political forces in the tribe.

The function of the piache is primarily and almost exclusively medical, but the medical system is spiritualistic or religious and not material. As a physician the piache derives his power not from any actual knowledge of diagnosis and physical treatment but from his ability to commune with and in some degree to control, or at least to influence, the supernatural world. To fulfill these functions, the piache requires knowledge of certain physical tricks, not unlike those of spirit mediums elsewhere, and rote memory of various charms and spells, mostly songs, that are not known to the layman.

To learn this trade the apprentice must be accepted as a colleague by a piache already established and by him be initiated into the secrets of the profession. [285] He is required to fast for a long time, two or three months, drinking only water and eating only as much as is absolutely necessary to sustain life, so that he becomes extremely thin. After this preparation, a definite initiation [276] occurs in which apparently only the initiate and his sponsor are involved. The latter gives the former an infusion of green tobacco in water, which is taken through the nostrils. The initiate becomes unconscious and remains so for some [533] hours, normally about half a day. The piache then sings to the initiate, who, still unconscious or in a trance, eventually sits up and starts singing also. When he returns to normal, he is a piache in his own right. The exact details of this and other procedures and the texts of the songs are closely guarded secrets

[1] [For Fig. 75 see p. 228b, category 116 - Analyst]

Kanaima.

754 [171] [124] [114] The concept of *kanaima*, common to practically all Caribs with some variations in nomenclature, is a difficult one to grasp. Despite their apparently complete willingness to do so, the Kamarakotos did not suceed in giving me any clear-cut definition of a *kanaima*, and this appears to have been the experience of every investigator whose interest was more than superficial and who did not jump to the conclusion that one aspect of *kanaima* was a complete description (almost all the literature has been summarized by Roth, and Koch-Grünberg adds interesting observations from the Taurepánes). Clearly the concept is to the Indians themselves very complex and rather vague. The basic fact is that a *kanaima* is hostile as such (i.e. is not a *kanaima* with respect to a person to whom he is not hostile) and that by supernatural means he causes almost every sort of illness and almost all deaths.

[648] A *kanaima* may be a real person but he does not cause injury by physical but only by magical means and his enmity is usually secret. The Kamarakotos deny that any members of their tribe are *kanaimaton*, although doubtless they may be such from the point of view of other tribes. Some Maquiritares are *kanaimaton* to the Kamarakotos and wild or bad Indians, naturally of hostile or at least foreign tribes, are generally believed to be such.

[171] [551] [123] In this aspect, the activities of a *kanaima* are typical of human witchcraft. The Kamarakotos deny that there are, or at least that they are acquainted with, any particular spells or magical devices that are used in order to cause harm, but such a denial is inevitable since confession of such knowledge would be dangerously near confession that its possessor is a *kanaima*. Rather vague reports suggest that such devices are known in other tribes. Thus a Taurepán told Koch-Grünberg that certain Makuchi *kanaimaton* placed the spit of their enemies in a tube of bamboo and used this in a magic spell to cause death, which finds exact analogies in European witchcraft. It is highly probable also that the refusal to reveal real names is based, at least in part, on belief that they can be used magically to harm the possessor, and the excessive caution of the Indians toward us in this respect hints that they were not quite sure that we were not *kanaimaton*.

[825] Some *kanaimaton* are animals, or animals that may appear as men, or men that may appear as animals. Here the concept falls into the world-wide wer-animal complex, but even in such a case the harm done is not, as usual with werewolves and the like, physical but only supernatural.

754 776 There is no sharp distinction between a *kanaima* that is a real person and one that is not. A *kanaima* that is believed to be a real person may not be such in fact. Thus the Kamarakotos believe that there are flesh-and-blood Indians in nearby forests who are *kanaimaton*, but these probably exist only in the Kamarakoto imagination. Other *kanaimaton*, although they appear, if at

805 211 There arise, however, occasions when an exact count of days is absolutely essential, and then recourse is had to a primitive type of reckoning string, which interestingly shows the first step in the development of the complex quipus of the Andine peoples. The Kamarakoto quipu consists of a cord, usually a piece of cotton twine, which is knotted. There is no difference between the various knots and each represents one day. This is used in two ways, subtractive and additive. In the first case the purpose is to record the amount of time that is to elapse before an expected event, such as return from a journey or maturing of a batch of kachiri. A knot is then tied to represent each day that is to elapse, and as each day passes one knot is untied. When the last knot is untied, the day for the expected event has arrived. In the additive system, the quipu starts as an unknotted string and a knot is put in as each day to be reckoned elapses, so that when complete the quipu's knots give the number of days that have passed. This system is used, for instance, to reckon the length of journeys (not the time to be allowed for completing them as in the other system) or the number of days worked — some of our workmen presented quipus as their tally against which they were to be paid. This method has the potentiality of developing into a permanent and continuous calendar record, but has not progressed nearly to this point. Once the short span of perhaps at most fifteen or twenty days has elapsed, the record is discontinued and the quipu discarded.

805 211 574 Subtractive quipus also serve as invitations. A man who plans to give a dance or other social enterprise will estimate how many days of preparation are necessary and how many guests he can accommodate. He will then knot this number of days into a quipu for each guest and one for himself and distribute the quipus to the persons invited, accompanied by a verbal message as to the nature and place of the occasion. Each person concerned unties a knot each day, and when the last knot is untied the company assembles. Such invitation quipus are often to be seen hanging from the beams inside houses.

171 211 Nordenskiöld (1930, Map 3) has shown that quipus in general occur throughout the Andes and north of the Amazon in South America and as far north as British Columbia in North America. Day-reckoning quipus occur among most relatives of the Kamarakotos, including the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg), Akawais (im Thurn), Kaliñas (Hildebrand), and others, but it is not always clear whether additive or subtractive.

802 The related concepts of number are adequately summarized in the vocabulary on a previous page.[1]

Dances and Amusements

273 574 The favorite and most typical diversion of the Kamarakotos is a drinking party, etaripan. The host prepares a large amount of kachiri or paiba and invites

[1] [see pp. 29-31, category 116 - Analyst]

273 a large number of guests, allowing several days for preparations and assembling.
574 Once under way, the party lasts without intermission, day and night,[177] until
the drink is exhausted. This usually means two or three days and sometimes
means a week or ten days. Men, women, and children assemble and participate on an equal footing, although the children and some of the women remain
relatively sober. The drinks, pleasant in moderation, are nauseating in large
quantities and it is common for participants to stagger out between rounds, vomit, and return to the fray. Drinkers who become unconscious are dumped
somewhere on the ground or in a hammock, while the supply lasts, to recover.
[578] These herculean drinking bouts are thus unattractive to a sober observer, but
seem seldom to give rise to the seriously disorderly conduct or fighting that
would be expected in a bout of equal proportions among more "civilized" people, or such as are reported by travelers among other tribes.

[535] A long, social drinking party of this sort is almost invariably accompanied
by dancing, also purely social in purpose and practically continuous as long as
anyone can stand up to dance.

Dances.

535 There are about a dozen special dances. Some of these are reserved for special occasions, but a long drinking and dancing party involves the performance of at least two and usually several in sequence and alternation.

●[171] The most common dance is the parichara, which is danced with variation
all over this part of South America, even among some non-Carib tribes. It can
[534] be danced at any time, night or day, and is accompanied by drums and trumpets
(kamai) and by singing, but not by flageolets. Some or all of the men wear a
special costume, the parichara-pon, consisting of a diadem, aroʔ, and a skirt,
imaripadai, of maripada palm leaves. As we saw it danced, only the cacique,
who directed the dance and led the singing and music, wore the aroʔ but most
of the males wore the imaripadai. Women also participate and wear no fixed
costume but usually adorn themselves with woven cotton circlets on the hair
from which streamers with tufts of down and other decorations fall down the back.
Each person dances individually but a man's wife or wives usually accompany
him and the sexes are not segregated or specialized in pattern, although the
[533] men provide all the music. The musicians likewise dance and are not set apart
as an orchestra.

The dance is monotonous to the observer, continuing indefinitely with no noteworthy variations, with a simple succession of long and short beats. On the long beat a stiff-legged step is taken, usually but not invariably with the right leg, and on the short beat a quicker, springing step is taken on the other foot. The body swings forward and backward in rhythm, flinging up the palm-leaf skirts of the men in a manner suggestive of the Polynesian hula or of what is

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177 [see footnote on p.329, category 116 - Analyst]

535 called "bumping" in American burlesque. The whole group dances in procession, one to three in a row or somewhat irregularly, circling counterclockwise and occasionally stopping and dancing in place or dancing backward for a few steps. Like all dances this is usually done indoors, in an elongate house, but there is no prohibition against taking it outdoors and dancing around the house.

533 535 Various different songs are sung for this dance and improvisation is not frowned upon. Among the Kamarakotos, at least, all the songs imply that the dancers represent, or are imitating, peccaries and the kamai trumpets are supposed to represent the cry of these animals. 533 539 The following is the text of one parichara song of three stanzas:

(1) woto woto wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Animal's animal's call grasping I have come. I have come. I have come. I have come.
(2) poiːnimo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Savage peccary's call...........etc.
(3) taukaːnamo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Wild beast's call...........etc.

Each stanza is repeated three times and the vocalist then jumps back to the first or second stanza and so continues until exhausted.

The following is another parichara song:

(1) iwoto-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like an animal, I have come visiting.
(2) poyini-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like a peccary, I have come visiting.
(3) wõyõpũi iyekuni põyuk ade-polumɛ
Coming along the slopes of the hills, I have come visiting.[178]

This is also sung over and over again, phrase by phrase.

533 535 [195] When the dance is finally to end, the kamai-blowers make a long blast and the singer wails tuwɛ-ɩ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ, with the final vowel very much prolonged and going into a treble squeak. This is not a word but simply a conventional interjection of pleasure and satisfaction in the dance.[179]

● [171] Roth (1924, pp. 477-478) gives a parichara song (probably Makuchi and certainly Carib, although he does not specify) that combines the thought of the two that I have given but in different wording and order. It also includes allusions apparently signifying flageolets or flutes, which are not used by the Kamarakotos in the parichara and not mentioned in their parichara songs.

The songs strongly resemble magical hunting spells and suggest that the whole dance arose as hunting medicine, but it has no such meaning to the Indians at present when they consider it solely as a diversion.

178, 179 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

868 857 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children "play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capable of it. 524 [868] Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imitations of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is commonly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might (Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of weapons, tools, etc.[181]

[171] [114] The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect these. I saw none not already recorded from the Makuchis or Akawais (see especially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures includes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 [178] Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some extent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowledge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. [126] Undoubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology and its probable sources and relationships.

539 126 128 [115] Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given, despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest [538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is invariable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181-184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

539 tribe, teaches the arts he has now acquired, and in a final episode is instrumental in the creation of things as they are and himself disappears.

Even from this broad point of view, the episodes of the king and queen buzzards are interpolations that are unrelated to the slender thread of unified plot.

[171] It would take too long here to trace the distribution and pedigree of each of the various episodes, but it may be mentioned that several of them, like that of the magic rattle, are very widespread in South America, and that some, like that of the magic bench, can be traced even well into North America. Koch-Grünberg has given an Arekuna[221] version of the magic implement legend ("Wewe und seine Schwäger"), with one *Wəwɛ* as hero, and a Taurepán version of the Buzzard King legend ("Der Besuch im Himmel"), with Maichaure (doubtless = Maichak) as hero. These differ from the present version in many details but are so similar as to have an obviously common origin.

In the latter legend, the Buzzard King is called *Kasaná-podoré* and his heads are named *Mõnyimõn* and *Eretó*. The Kamarakoto name *Atitó* is obviously that of one (the left) head of the Taurepán Buzzard King. All the elements of this legend are very widespread and familiar in numerous different versions and combinations: the capture of the buzzard by feigning death, the transformation of bird to woman, the three labors (and each of them), the animal helpers, etc.

It is usually made clear that these later episodes transpire in heaven, or in the sky, as suggested by the general name of the complex, "Besuch im Himmel" (Boas), etc., but this is not stated in the Kamarakoto version. That this is true of the original story explains the otherwise anomalous fact that in fleeing, Maichak is represented as coming down an impassable mountain,[222] that he apparently did not and could not ascend. The curiously irrelevant and circumstantial points regarding the fall of the tree and Maichak's refusal to jump strongly suggest that this brief episode of the flight is a garbled or at least elided version of a longer legend that has been lost.

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539 Roth (1924, pp. 486-488) has given a Makuchi "Story of Maichoppa" (obviously equal to Maichak) which is a recognizable equivalent of the story of Maichak and the Buzzard King and Queen, different as are many of the details. At the end of this, when Maichoppa is returning to the ground, he has to descend a tree, which is a ceibo like the apparently irrelevant tree in the Kamarakoto story. A lizard volunteers to carry him, but really intends to eat him. Maichoppa finally escapes by slipping from the lizard's back to the ground. This straightforward story offers a version that could well be related to the forgotten original of the now almost irrational details vestigial in the Kamarakoto version, and confirms me in the opinion that a distinct episode or story has been incomprehensibly elided here. I have not found a more detailed version of this one episode or one more clearly related to the Kamarakoto legend at this point.

221,222 [see footnotes on p. 332, category 11b—Analyst]

539 Another peculiar omission is that in almost all other versions of the ex-
traordinarily widespread magic bench story, this bench is provided with spines,
bits of jagged rock, wasp stings, or the like (the "Stachelsitz" motive) which
inflict physical pain on the user, here the Buzzard King. In the Kamarakoto
[152] version the injury is emotional, not physical: he is frightened. This is clearly
related to the Kamarakoto "fear of fear," mentioned elsewhere. To them the
infliction of fright is at least as serious as the infliction of pain.

[177] The final episode combines a catastrophe with creation. The Kamara-
kotos also have legends of catastrophes by water, but these obviously contain
recent intrusions or are garbled versions of legends passed on from Indians who
have been in contact with missionaries, so that I believed it impossible to be
539 sure of any truly native elements and did not record them. This catastrophe
823 story by earthquake leading to petrification is unusual, although the element in
it of belief that local rocks and hills are petrified people and animals is wide-
spread — compare Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán "Taten des Makunaima," which
gives such origins for rocks and cliffs near Roroima.

The petrified progenitor of the Kamarakotos, who is strangely called by that name although it can only properly mean a tribe and not a person, still exists in Kamarata and we visited and photographed him (see Fig. 80).[1] He consists of a rounded outcrop of rock with a smaller, pear-shaped, weathered boulder on top. There is no real resemblance to a human figure or face. There are no drawings or carvings on the rock, no offerings, no evidence at all of a cult or other human activities, and the Indians who accompanied us showed neither awe nor respect for the rock, although solemnly agreeing that it is, indeed, the ancestor of the tribe. Questions as to origin and the name of the tribe were usually answered by reference to this legend.

539 The other motif in the final episode, that of animal origin from human
825 beings, is one of the most common elements in Indian folklore, and indeed in
folklore generally. It is almost as elemental in primitive mythology as the
motif, exemplified in almost every episode of this whole story, of animals that
talk and act like humans. The likewise common inverse transformation, from
animal to human, is seen in the episode of the Queen Buzzard. Mythology in
general and that of the Kamarakotos in particular assume no basic distinction
[171] between animals and man. Many Carib tribes, and I think also the Kamarakotos
[551] although unable to establish the point beyond question, commonly apply animal
names to people. The other frequent concomitants of such animal myths, such
as animal totems and taboos, seem, however, to be entirely absent among the
Kamarakotos.

539 As a final comment, the unusual role played by Piaimá in this story should
776 be noted. In other myths and in Carib thought in general, Piaimá is represented
as an untrustworthy, bloody, and generally inimical being. Here he appears as
a benevolent teacher. A connecting link between these anomalously contrasting

[1] [see p. 262B, category 116 - Analyst]

539 roles can, however, be seen in the fact that Plaimá is commonly represented
776 as a familiar of the piaches, although hopelessly dangerous to other Indians,
and even as teaching the piaches their peculiar arts and spells.

Character and Habits

157 Much of Kamarakoto character is evident from what has already been said, for character is inherent not only in the social culture of a people but also in what they make and use, in what they eat and drink, and in how they talk. Of course Kamarakotos show marked differences in personal character, but it is quite possible to speak also of a tribal norm in this respect. Indeed it was our impression that they are more uniform in character than are most civilized communities, and this is natural because of the almost complete uniformity in their lives, lack of division of labor or differentiation of habits as between different household groups, frequent social contacts with each other, and fairly uniform genetic heritage.

157 The Kamarakotos are Caribs and the Caribs have a bad name historically.
171 Many of them were cannibals and they have even given us our word "cannibal."[223]
[197] Many Caribs were quarrelsome and warlike, a scourge to their neighbors and a
[266] terror to the white invaders. Some of them, notably the Motilones, have not
been conquered to this day and still exact a heavy toll of life from those who
attempt to travel in their fastnesses. Such a picture is, however, completely
157 and ridiculously false as applied to the Kamarakotos. Their most obvious character traits, as we saw them, are mildness and gaiety. They are happy, affectionate people who seldom quarrel and seldom show the slightest sign of anger or of opposition.

Humor.

157
152 Kamarakotos are anything but dour and silent — they do not belong to what some popular writers in North America call the "ugh" school of Indians.
On the contrary, they chatter endlessly and their facile emotions are usually
obvious. The common facial expression is a broad smile, and any amusing
157 incident gives rise to gales of loud laughter. They have a keen sense of humor
522 and are constantly joking. Puns are in high favor (I have noted some on previous pages). A few other incidents exemplify the sort of things that the Kamarakotos think are funny (and we shared this opinion). The fact that a flock of chickens included only roosters gave rise to obvious comments, gaily received. When I had been measuring their heads and we were about to set off to visit "Kamarakoto," the enormous stone that is believed to be their petrified ancestor, I was told to be sure to bring my calipers (span about 30 centimeters)

[223] [see footnote on pp. 332-33, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 263]

157 522 because this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied [824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is [386] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe [302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

There are two noteworthy differences from supposedly more civilized humor, and these are decidedly in the Kamarakoto's favor: we saw no case in which a physical injury or indignity was considered funny, and crude practical jokes and the startling or frightening of anyone were expressly avoided and considered quite the opposite of humorous.

Emotional Adjustment.

● 171 158 In northern Venezuela we observed that most members of the peon class are definitely neurotic.[224] Most of them live oppressed by anxiety, ridden by fear of almost everything around them, and in a state of worry with few and 158 brief remissions. The opposite is true of the Kamarakotos. No neurotic individ- [157] uals or states were observed among them. Anxiety and worry seemed almost unknown, and the whole tribe exhibited a degree of emotional adjustment that 155 could not be matched in any "civilized" community of equal size. It will not be a popular statement, but scientific conscience compels me to add that the almost complete absence of a formulated religion is certainly one element in this remarkably good adjustment, just as the burden of such a religion plays a definite and large role in the neurotic anxiety of the northern peones.[225] Another element, probably the most important, is the security and care enjoyed by the children, as noted below.

152 It is not true that fear is unknown and it is apparently, but not really, contradictory that the Kamarakotos are almost free of anxiety but are often afraid and have even been known to die of fear. They do not seriously fear [828] physical injury: what they fear is fear itself. They detest being startled and often show marked consideration in avoiding giving anyone a start or surprise. Playing peek-a-boo with a baby, so common with us, was never seen and might [254] indeed be considered a serious injury. They fear the kanaima, but in their stories of danger from kanaima the injury is seldom represented as inflicted by physical means but by a noise, or similar thing, that merely startles and frightens [539] the victim. I have noted the curious and revealing fact that in their version of the widespread "stachelsitz" (spiny bench) legend, the bench is not spiny at all and the damage is inflicted by fright and not, as in almost all other known versions of this story, by physical pain.

224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 11b - Analyst]

152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
[593] consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[1] and it is common to see boy chums who are almost always together and often stand arm in arm.

858 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not
855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much
[861] as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion.
854 The small babies cry infrequently because they usually get what they want without crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a
[853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry, because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and
155 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt
854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psychological, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled" children, but produces happy and reasonable ones.

847 Some Carib tribes have practiced extensive infanticide and perhaps some
[172] still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so contrary to their characters that they are doubtless truthful in this denial. They
842 [597] seem greatly to desire children. Orphans are adopted, usually but not always by a paternal uncle, as a matter of course and are in every respect treated like their own children by the foster parents. No woman said or seemed to feel that she had too many, or even enough, children.

Modesty.

834 The Kamarakotos are extremely modest, but only on one point. Adults
[514] do not expose the pubic region, even before members of the same sex. Men and women show no particular reticence in performing physiological functions in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that
[291] the pubic region is not in view. Very small boys are not embarrassed at being quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

[1] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 266]

834 With them, and of course this is well established as a general rule, clothes are
291 not worn because of modesty, but modesty arises from the use of clothes. Boys
who had just started wearing loincloths would often remove them when swimming, but then if someone was around they would put a hand over the pubic region on emerging from the water and would turn their backs while donning the loincloth again.

291 No particular modesty is shown regarding other parts of the body. The
177 women would not visit us without dresses, but it was evident that the motive
was not modesty but pride. A dress is not primarily a covering, but an ornament, a sign of prosperity, and an emblem of the desire to appear civilized and sophisticated to us. They have not yet been worn for sufficient time to induce the feeling that the parts that they cover (and that the native apron does not)
[853] are shameful or should be covered on moral grounds. They are so made as not
effectively to conceal the breasts and women's dresses are, indeed, purposely made not to cover the breasts closely, for the practical reason of leaving the breast easily available to an infant, the dress never being removed or especially opened for this purpose. No man ever hesitated to remove any and all of his clothing, if he had any, except his loincloth, or to visit us if he had no other clothing. This less insistence, as compared with the women, on having European clothing betokens less pride, not that the clothing is less desirable as a symbol of what they believe to be progress, but mainly that male clothing is
[301] considered (and is in fact) less decorative. Similarly few women would think
of appearing in society without as full a complement of necklaces and other ornaments as possible, while the men, not entirely above such frippery, considered it far less essential to their dignity and importance.

Cleanliness.

364 Within broad limits, the Kamarakotos are clean people. There is no
great accumulation of refuse around the houses, partly because their diet produces little garbage and partly because they are reasonably careful to clean
● [171] away what little refuse there is. A Kamarakoto settlement is not entirely odor-
less but certainly has none of the nauseous stench so often mentioned by travelers as heralding approach to an Indian village in other parts of South America.[226]
296 They do not mind a considerable amount of dirt on their clothing, but periodi-
cally do wash all clothing, getting it quite clean by pounding and strenuous ef-
515 fort and bleaching it in the sun.[227] They live near streams that are safe for
bathing and all enter the water freely and wash themselves at frequent intervals so that their persons are usually remarkably clean.

226, 227 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

194 written. To use u in this way here would, however, be difficult or inaccurate since it would require a different diacritical mark to distinguish the sound from u and u: and would be bad transcription because the phoneme is different from that of u. The common use in Spanish transcriptions of gu- for initial w- is still worse, since no stop analogous to that of g is really present. Moreover gw- does occur in Kamarakoto and is quite distinct from w-.

194
171 31. I do not see how this can be a case of assimilation. It is barely possible that Carib phonetics have influenced Venezuelan Spanish in this direction, but a similar ll sound can be heard among Spanish speakers (e.g. in the Argentine) whose ancestors never saw a Carib. The same is true of the special resemblance between Kamarakoto and colloquial Spanish b and r. On the other hand, it is still more incredible that Spanish should have affected Kamarakoto phonetics significantly. A generation ago no Kamarakoto knew any Spanish and only two or three of them know much now.

However this may be, Venezuelans have an understandable tendency to transcribe this Indian sound as ll, a transcription almost perfect to their ears but very misleading to almost anyone else. The sound has practically nothing in common with the Castilian ll = l mouillé.

194 32. This is merely a variant of po.inga in Kamarakoto, and comparison with other dialects shows fairly conclusively that the y is intrusive and not vestigial.

33. Not pronounced yensi. Even in Taurepán, in which s is less often affricative, this word has a definite stop.

34. This is an exceptional word, the only example I have of a completely unvelarized n before w. There is a distinct surd pause between n and w, as I indicate by . , which could also be considered as a very short surd only semisonant vowel. Sometimes this is audible as breathing and the word sounds Kanhwa. There is no aspirate phoneme in the language and this is the nearest to an independent aspirate that I heard.

35. An apparent exception is a word recorded as trapichi, but in the first place this is not a Kamarakoto word except by adoption (it is the Spanish trapiche), and the second place there is really a short neutral vowel between the t and the r — disregarding the etymology of the word it could just as well be written tərapichi (or tərabichi — the p is somewhat voiced, as often between two resonant vowels), noting that the ə is exceptionally short.

000 51. Assimilation of a foreign word to a nearly similar native expression is a common linguistic phenomenon. Compare, for example, the American "jerked" (as applied to dried meat) which is not from "jerk" but from "charqui."

113 52. "Unter den Tropen." Jena, 1871 — not much used here because superseded by Williams, but the latter did not personally record this word.

197 53. Father Baltasar de Matallana has cited this word as *y-apon*, =
193 *(y)-apon*, a form derived from *apono*, which is the principal unpossessed form of the word in Taurepán, as recorded both by Koch-Grünberg and by me. Father Baltasar then cites Cumanagoto *y-apono* and Chaima *y-aponoto* to illustrate the comparative brevity of the root in Taurepán, but in both these cases, the root is *apono* (*y*- and -*to* being affixes), just as in Taurepán, and this is the full, and not a reduced form, of the root. A truly reduced form is probably seen in Galibi *abo* (for *apo*). I quite agree that Taurepán, in this and many other words, is relatively primitive, but on the diametrically opposite grounds that it retains these roots in relatively unreduced form.

192 54. See Nordenskiöld's very interesting discussion of Indian words for
●171 steel knives (1922). He believes that *maria* is of Arawak origin, which I am inclined to doubt because its distribution is so predominantly northeastern Carib and it is used among Arawaks only by those much influenced by these Caribs. In any case it is an Indian word. So, probably, is *kutsupara*. It is barely possible, but highly improbable, that it is related to "cuchillo." Note also the common words for "iron" in this region, *siparari* and variants. Taurepán *tawöra* is a very isolated word of doubtful origin. It can hardly be more than a coincidence that *ta-ra*, with variants not far from the Taurepán word, is a Carib name for a bird with a knife-shaped tail.

342 55. What most authors call "oval" or "elliptical," but it is neither oval nor elliptical in fact.

103 56. This supposes that the -ll- will be pronounced in colloquial Vene-
104 zuelan fashion, i.e., like a somewhat sibilant *y*.

103 57. *Tuaiba* is the Kamarakoto name of this place. *Santa Marta* was applied to it by the Spanish-speaking cacique, evidently in an effort to impress his white visitors, but it is doubtful whether the other Indians are likely to continue using it.

103 58. The -gu- intended to be pronounced as in colloquial Venezuelan,
104 like English *w*, but to my ear this is an open *b* or bilabial *v*.

237 211 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the *supalari* among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("*zipōla:li*") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 228 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not poisonous *per se*. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 237 412 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue. Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

231 171 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 824 [114] 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the *ing'* of the Taurepanes as *Lonchocarpus densiflorus*, but the Kamarakoto *ing)* can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that *aya*, which Koch-Grünberg identifies as *Clibadium*, is *Lonchocarpus*. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

291 177 [114] 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing whatever before contact with Europeans. Alejo's date is too late by a century or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old as that.

[123] [562] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

294 114 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.

171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

291 126 128 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114 301 304 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some
Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no
[177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads,
if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual
184 cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or
302 tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown
114 or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians
824 on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ...... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

● 171 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized
283 Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is
286 made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually
352 factory-made, is of cotton.

*285 thread netting. The knotting in Kamarakoto nets can be considered as a variety of lace coil work, and Roth reports from the Uaupes River a completely typical example of lace coil in a fish net. In the examples studied by Kissell the lace coil serves some of the functions of basketry and is strongly associated with true basketry coiling, but in South America the same technique is used in a way unlike basketry and among Indians to whom coiled basketry is entirely unknown — strong arguments against classing it even secondarily as a basketry technique, at least in this context. It is true, as Roth points out, that his locked basketry weave is closely allied to the thread textile made by lace coiling (he does not use this name). It is barely possible that this uncommon type of basketry may have been derived from a thread textile technique, unlike almost all other basketry which arose from plain plaiting, but even were this proven it would hardly justify anyone in considering the lace coil thread-textile to be woven by a basketry technique, or as being in any way related to true coiled basketry.

[286] 150. Note also the use of an advanced plaiting technique for thread-textiles.

151. Roth calls this the weft, but it is obviously the passive element and I follow good precedent in calling the passive element the warp, regardless of its direction.

101
● 171 152. Thus Wissler's summary of the southeastern culture area (1938) suggests probable West Indian and South American influence in methods of starchy root preparation, use of fish poisons, some details of house construction, use of blowguns, etc.

*285
114
227 153. Roth places here fish traps like those of the Kamarakotos, but they do not seem to me to be baskets in a strict sense.

*285
252 154. The Warraus and some other distant tribes use them (with a different edging) for sifting moriche ("ite") flour, but Kamarakotos do not make this flour and do not use orapa for sifting.

*285
171 155. Roth describes a similar edging technique which he says is used by the Arawak and Warrau on sieves for trade, not for their own use. The Kamarakotos make it for their own use, and in fact I did not observe that they were acquainted with any simpler technique for this purpose.

156. It is not true that these, or as far as I know any South American Indians, weave baskets so tight that they are waterproof without a leaf lining or an outer coating of gum or wax. Such a result can hardly be achieved except

*285 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill
●171 involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to
be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but
it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly
482 descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form,
114 since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide
411 thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant
283 fibers for such purposes.

*285 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British
227 Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps
[171] and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they
[224] will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish,
by biting their heads.

*285 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was
192 told that it is "correct."
194

*285 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after
531 they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a
177 non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in
another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was
seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has
ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently
been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated
members of the group.

534 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as ap-
824 plying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly
a reed flageolet.

534 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been
114 devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless
an innovation under foreign influence.

534 165. Panpipes are so widespread that this omission is striking, but I can
● 171 find no evidence for their occurrence anywhere in this immediate group of tribes.

482 166. Kamarakoto women follow the universal custom of Venezuela and
171 adjacent regions in carrying weighty objects balanced on the head for short distances, but not for long carries as when traveling.

[114] 167. Here again Nordenskiöld's generalizations are not correct as applied to our area despite his encyclopedic knowledge and general accuracy. He considers chest-straps typical of this region and head-straps as mainly or wholly western in South America.

601 168. yakon is the same word as akon. The y is not here used only in compounds, being part of a disjunctive form as well, but it is not consistently used to distinguish a male from a female relationship.

[171] 169. The Kamarakotos are aware of the fact that this word is peculiar to them and told me that the Gran Sabana Indians address their mothers as amai, but that this is not a Kamarakoto word.

123 170. Our camp with its overflowing abundance of desirable and poorly or
674 not guarded objects must have presented an almost irresistable temptation, but on the whole the sorely tried honesty of the Indians was equal to the test. It is true that a few small objects were stolen, or perhaps appropriated would be a fairer word — in some cases it must have been confusing to the Indians to know what desirable objects, such as spent cartridges, were fair prey and what were not. In one case application to the cacique procured the return of an appropriated object with the explanation that it had been believed abandoned. At least one valuable small object, a gold pencil, disappeared permanently.

123 171. When we started trading with them, the Indians wanted no money
436 except a few small silver coins to use as ornaments and they complained that a
439 previous party had wanted to pay them in money, which was useless to them. When they eventually learned the value (to us) of Venezuelan coins and that they could spend the coins with us for goods of real value, they gladly accepted them. It was not uncommon for an Indian worker to ask for his pay in silver and then to reappear in an hour or so and spend it all for trade goods, which he could have had in the first place without using the money. This developed into a delightful game amusing to everyone but our paymaster. See Fig. 74.[1]

[1] [For Fig 74, see p. 228a, category 116 – Analyst]

435 172. The literature, especially that of travel as opposed to scientific study, is full of ridicule of the Indians because they do not know the intrinsic worth of articles. These statements are usually naive because they show that it is the traveler, who did not know what "intrinsic worth" means. Except for jewelry and a few other uses unknown to the Indians, gold has no intrinsic worth. In our civilization, but not that of the Indians, it has an extrinsic worth as a token of the real value that it in itself does not intrinsically have. When an Indian picks up a nugget and trades it for a needle, he gets by far the best of the bargain on the basis of intrinsic worth: he gets something that he could not make and that is of great use to him for something that cost him no real work and that is worthless to him, and so gets something for nothing. It must not be supposed, however, that there are any Indians left, even beyond the limits of intensive exploration, who do not now have a better idea than this of the value (to the traveler) of gold, or of other articles of regular trade.

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766 173. Koch-Grünberg, who seems to have penetrated farther than anyone else into Carib religion, gives the texts of several Taurepán magic spells, but these were apparently common property and not exclusive to the piaches.

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[171] 174. No mention was ever made of the use of a rattle, *maraka*, by the piache and since this is almost universal and is indeed believed by some to be the primary purpose of the *maraka*, I feared that I had missed an essential point. I now learn, however, on Koch-Grünberg's unimpeachable authority that Taurepán piaches do not use the *maraka*, and this must be true also of the Kamarakotos.

754
123 175. The following remarkable incident was related to me by Marie Angel as having occurred during her previous visit to the tribe. One of the boys employed at the camp was seized by a *kanaima* and retired to his hammock to die. All entreaties to him fell on deaf ears and Mrs. Angel finally said in his presence, through an interpreter, that if he was going to die anyway she was not going to have him do so at length in her camp, that she was going to get a gun and if he was still in his hammock when she returned, she would put him out of his misery. When she approached with the gun, the boy suddenly sprang from the hammock and ran off, entirely cured. Since Indians do certainly die from such attacks, this anecdote is not to be taken as evidence that they are feigned.

764
123 176. But I did not open these because this would certainly have been resented and the friendship of the living was far more essential to my work than this slight additional knowledge of the dead.

273 574 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are awake and hilarious at all times.

533 539 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like *autsimbe daiʔ*, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 171 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint, which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the *parichara-pon*.

524 153 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an airplane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 115 126 128 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and insistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name *maichaɣ*.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, *wai* in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called *atsi:gamo*, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[534] 187. *maraka*, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

539
[825] 188. The large kind called *po. inga*.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. *Tangõiʼ*.

191. *Pangaiʼ*.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = *manare*.

[241] 194. Casave plant, *kõsera*.

[482]
[171] 195. *akaiʼ*. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the *akaiʼ* is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called *polopakaiʼ*.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," *kadau-kadau* in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[126]
[192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

[551] 201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584]
[583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 [148] 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Regarding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai', which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] [823] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

● 171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly

● 171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15
114 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
296 pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177
407 direct European influence.

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
177 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely
aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have
been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured
any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English
numeral "eight," which I had several tim[illegible]alled out to my wife or to

[1] [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]

[2] [i.e. chickens - Analyst]

[3] [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]

[4] [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]